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STUDIES IN THE LANGUAGES OF ERROMANGO

John Lynch, ed.



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PREFACE

This volume is essentially an exercise in salvage linguistics. Of the four Erromangan languages for which data will be presented, two are now extinct, a third is likely to become so in the very near future, while the one viable Erromangan language has not really attracted the attention of linguists in the last half-century. I am therefore aiming to present as complete a description as possible of these historically important languages within the limits of the data available. It is my hope that the presentation of these data will stimulate further studies in the languages of the region.

The major part of this volume is taken up with a grammatical description of Sie, the sole surviving viable language of Erromango, and with a presentation of Sie lexical data. These two papers are preceded by a general discussion of the Erromangan linguistic situation, and are followed by descriptions, based on very limited data, of the moribund Ura and the extinct Utaha and Sorung. The last chapter is an attempt to begin the reconstruction of the language ancestral to these languages.

I am happy to be able to acknowledge the assistance of a number of people and institutions in the preparation of this volume. Initial research was funded by the East-West Center, and later research by the University of Papua New Guinea; final writing-up was carried out while on research leave from the University of Papua New Guinea at the Australian National University. I am grateful to these three institutions for their support. I am also grateful to a number of colleagues who have commented either on drafts of these papers or on drafts of earlier versions of them: I should instance particularly here Terry Crowley, George Grace, Jacques Guy, Andrew Pawley, Malcolm Ross, Darrell Tryon, and David Walsh, as well as Les Groube, Sione Lātūkefu, and Matthew Spriggs, who commented on various non-linguistic matters dealt with particularly in the first chapter. A number of people in Vanuatu were of special assistance to the efficient conduct of my fieldwork, and among these I would like to thank Mr and Mrs Bob Paul, Père A. Sacco, and Mr and Mrs John Stock.

I owe a particular debt to Dr A. Capell, my first teacher in linguistics. He encouraged me to conduct research on the languages of the Southern Vanuatu region, and has allowed me to make full use of his manuscript grammars, vocabularies, and textual data in the preparation of this volume. I am pleased that he has been able to co-author with me two of the major chapters in this volume.

Finally, I am especially grateful to those Erromangan people who helped me in collecting the data upon which much of the present volume is based: James Foto, Tom Kiri, Simeon Louo, William Mete, and John Naupa. I hope that this volume will show what a rich linguistic tradition once existed on their island.

Canberra
August 1982

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations will be used in the grammar sketches in this volume:

1, 2, 3,	first, second, third	LOC	locative
	person	LOCREL	locative relative
A	set A person-marker	MP	mid past
B	set B person-marker	NEG	negative
	(see section 2.1.2. of	NOM	nominaliser
	Sie grammar outline)	PF	perfective
BENF	benefactive	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POSS	possessive
COM	comitative	PRES	present
COND	conditional	PREF	previous reference
DAT	dative	PRIV	privative
DU	dual	PURP	purposive
ES	echo-subject	Q	question-marker
EXC	exclusive	REFL	reflexive
FP	far past	REL	relative
ID	identificatory prefix	SG	singular
INC	inclusive	SEP	separative
INS	instrumental	sp.	species
INT	intensive	TMP	temporary action
IRR	irrealis	TR	transitive
k.o.	kind of		

In the sections on morphology and syntax, data will be presented according to the following scheme:

first, the phrase or sentence in the language, with all word-initial morpheme-breaks indicated by hyphens;

second, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, with corresponding hyphens; and

third, in quotes, a free translation.

Glosses separated by a colon in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses represent multi-word English glosses of a single Erromangan-language morpheme.

There is a problem on how best to represent various grammatical morphemes which condition certain morphophonemic changes. For example, there is a rule in Sie which inserts a vowel between two consonants in word-initial position; if one of the consonants is a velar, the vowel inserted is /o/. Underlying g-tai (3s-hit:it) *he hit it* is phonemically /gotai/, with epenthetic /o/. In general, we have followed the rule that these epenthetic vowels will be written in in the examples we give; we thus prefer to write go-tai rather than g-tai, since this is certainly more readable. The reader needs to bear in mind, however, that the prefix go- is an allomorph of the prefix g-, and that only the prefix g- will be listed in the discussion on verbal prefixes.

CHAPTER 1

THE LANGUAGES OF ERROMANGO

Erromango is the third most southerly of the major islands of Vanuatu (see map 1). Known in the mission literature as 'The Martyr Isle', Erromango saw not only the violent deaths of a number of Presbyterian missionaries, but also massive depopulation of the Erromangan people themselves. This depopulation has had a drastic effect on the Erromangan linguistic situation, as this chapter will show.

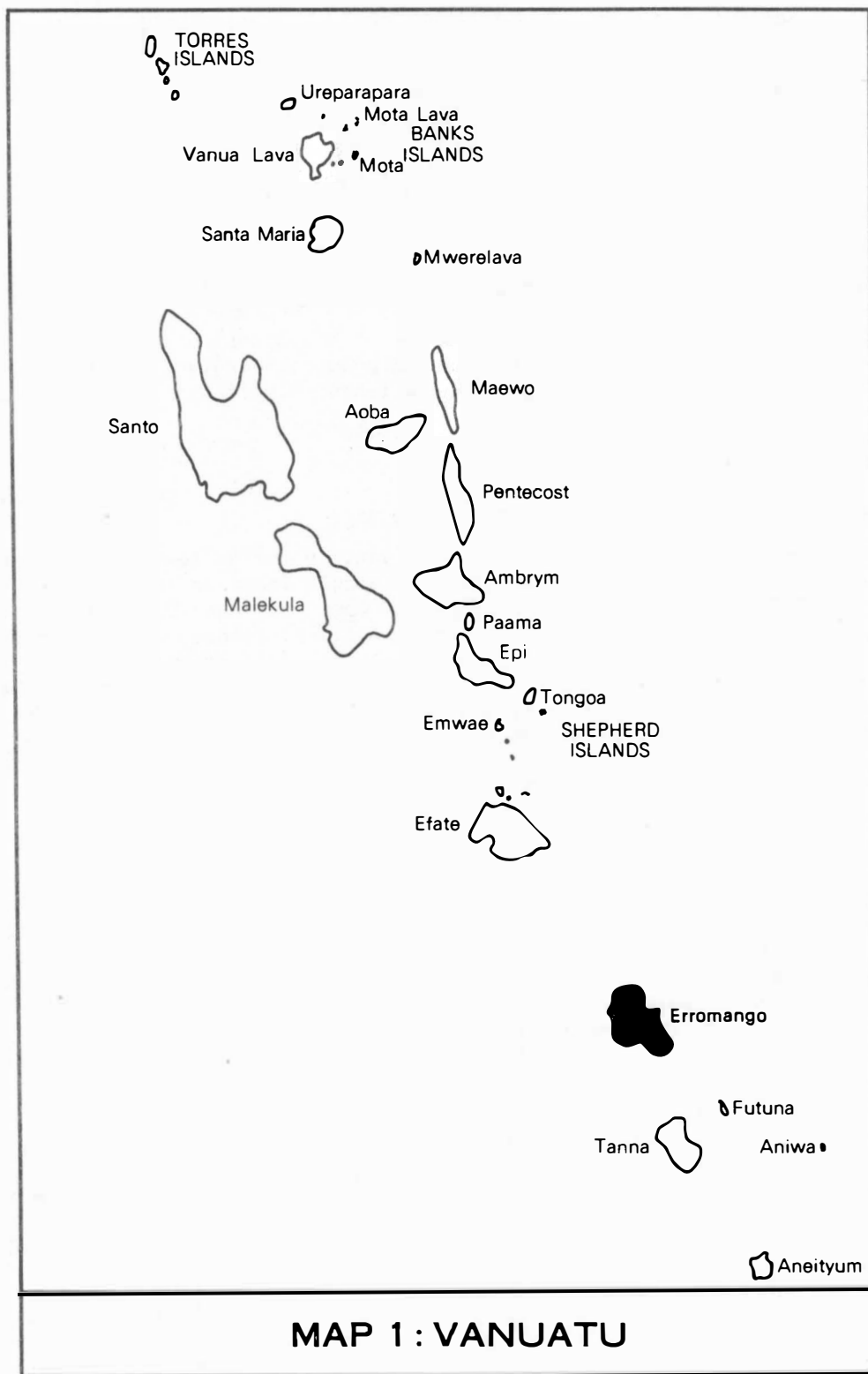
1. THE ERROMANGAN LANGUAGES AT EUROPEAN CONTACT

The Southern Vanuatu region has been settled for at least three thousand years and possibly considerably longer.¹ A single language ancestral to the present-day languages of Erromango, Tanna and Aneityum began to diversify as its speakers dispersed among these three southern islands, though at what date this dispersal took place – and, in particular, at what date Erromango itself was first settled – is not known. Man has probably been living on Erromango for at least two thousand years, however, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Erromango may well have been in excess of five thousand (see below).

1.1. Depopulation

The relative tranquility of life on Erromango was shattered on 27 July, 1774, by the visit of James Cook, who landed on the north-east coast.² Cook almost began the massive slaughter of the Erromangans, but his "Musquet at the critical Moment refused to perform its part" (Beaglehole 1961:479). However, the discovery of sandalwood on Erromango by Peter Dillon in 1825, and the arrival (and subsequent death at the hands of the Erromangans) of the Presbyterian missionary John Williams in 1893, initiated the process of close contact between Erromangans and Europeans, a contact which was to have disastrous effects on the people of Erromango.

The story of the sandalwooders, labour-traders, and missionaries in southern Vanuatu has been told elsewhere, and need not be repeated here.³ What is of particular concern here is the effect of this outside contact upon the population of Erromango itself. In the report of the first census of Vanuatu (then the New Hebrides) in 1967, McArthur and Yaxley (1968:4) give the following figures, from various sources, for the population of the island:



1850:	5,000	1910:	800
1860:	c.6,000	1921:	484
1865:	4-5,000	1924:	513
1872:	1-2,000	1926:	474
1875:	2,000	1927:	463
1889:	2,550	1929:	439
1893:	c.1,000	1930:	421
1898:	1,500	1931:	381

The figure of 381 in 1931 was the all-time low: the population climbed back over 400 in the mid-thirties, and reached 500 in the sixties. The 1967 census gave a population of 595 for Erromango; however, only 436 of these were born on Erromango, although there were an additional 72 Erromangan-born people enumerated on other islands in the group, giving a total of 508. The most recent census (1979) gives a population of 945.⁴

1.2. Languages

Although the Presbyterian missionaries, for practical purposes, concentrated their linguistic efforts on only one speech-form⁵ — that spoken around Dillon's Bay on the west coast — most early writers noticed some linguistic diversity. Gabelentz (1861) recorded data from two speech-forms, 'Erromango' and 'Nord-Sprache'. Turner (1861:494) stated that

there are two dialects on the island, differing widely from each other, but the one is only partially known on the north-east end of the island, and among a tribe which numbers but a few people.

Robertson (1902:2) was at the same time less specific and more accurate in his estimate of the linguistic diversity, noting that, although on Aneityum "there is only one language, for the island is small, ... on each of the other two (i.e., Tanna and Erromango) there are several".

Most later published accounts (e.g. Ray 1893, 1926; Capell 1972) list five named speech-forms, and this statement derives from data provided by the missionary J.D. Gordon. His 'Sketch of the Erromangan Grammar' (1889: 61-84) listed the following 'dialects' and approximate populations in the 1860s or early 1870s:

1. Yoku or Enyau	1,000?
2. Sorung or Sie	2,000?
3. Ura	500?
4. Utaha	50?
5. Novul-Amleng	Extinct

Yoku, Enyau, and Sorung are all terms meaning 'my, mine'; Sie means 'what?'. The others are, apparently, names for the speech-forms themselves; the novul in Novul-Amleng probably means *word, language* (cf. Ura novul *language*, novulu *word*). Yoku was the major mission language, spoken in the Dillon's Bay region — Gabelentz' 'Erromango'. Ura is virtually identical with Gabelentz' 'Nord-Sprache' and is probably Turner's partially-known north-east dialect.

Humphreys (1926), however, gives both a partially different set of names and a different number of speech-forms. He states that

there are six or possibly even seven dialectal groups in the island, but there is no evidence of more than one fundamental linguistic stock in Eromanga, and no reason to believe that the survival of an early non-Austronesian tongue may be found today. The native names for six of the dialects are Eniau, Etio, Adiau, Sorung, Seimo, and Tanempenum. There is a seventh, but no one recalls the name of it. (Humphreys 1926:191).

Humphreys' Eniau and Sorung clearly correspond to two of Gordon's speech-forms; Etio and Adiau are respectively Utaha and Ura (cf. Utaha *etiyo*, Ura *ari-yau*, both meaning *my, mine*). The others I am unable to explain, although one at least may be the same as Gordon's Novul-Amleng.

It seems clear, then, that there were at least five named speech-forms spoken on the island around the middle of the last century. There may have been more than five, as Humphreys suggests. However, although Gordon backs up his distinction between the various speech-forms with data, Humphreys does not, and at this stage I would be unwilling to accept Humphreys' Seimo, Tanempenum, and the seventh 'dialect' without c

What is not completely clear is whether these speech-forms were distinct languages. On this question, we have two kinds of evidence which we can use: the terms used by early writers to describe the speech-forms, and the linguistic data available.

Gordon (1889:78-84) labels his section on Ura, Utaha and Sorung 'Eromangan Dialects', and nowhere discusses their linguistic status. Robertson, however, clearly refers to several 'languages' on both Tanna and Erromango (in contrast to one 'language' on Aneityum), and since both the Tanna and Aneityum situations are reported correctly, it is my contention here that the five named speech-forms were in fact different languages. Humphreys' (1926:191) reference to 'dialectal groups' but only 'one fundamental linguistic stock' corresponds to similar remarks of his about neighbouring Tanna: "there are two distinct dialects in the island, so different in fact as to lead one to think that they may be really distinct languages" (Humphreys 1926:102). Humphreys, then, appears to use the term 'dialect' to refer to distinct, though closely related, languages. His statement that there are (or were) six or seven dialectal groups on Erromango is thus not inconsistent with the view expressed here that these were in fact distinct languages.

Later writers are not particularly clear as to the status of the different speech-forms. Ray (1926:172) discusses them under the heading 'Dialects', and makes no comment on the degree of differentiation. Capell (1972:49, 51) refers to "more than one form of Eromangan", and suggests that Ura, at least, "differs so widely from the others that it may prove to be worthy of language status". Again, these remarks, though inconclusive, do not invalidate the hypothesis.

An examination of the available data on the various speech-forms also tends to confirm the hypothesis. Although there is not a great deal of information available on Ura, and very little indeed on Utaha and Sorung, the following statements can be made with reasonable certainty:

- (a) Modern Ura has been compared with Modern Sie, the descendant of the earlier Yoku (see section 2 below), by Tryon (1976) and myself (Lynch 1978a). Tryon, using a 300-word list, computed a lexicostatistical cognate percentage of 59%; using a slightly modified Swadesh 200-word list, I found a cognate percentage of 44%. In either case, Ura and Sie can be classed as lexicostatistically quite distinct languages.

- (b) Fifty-two words found on Gordon's Utaha list are found on most basic vocabulary lists. Comparison of these with Ura gives a percentage of around 65-70%, while comparison with Sie (i.e. Yoku) gives around 68-72%. Thus again, at least on lexicostatistical evidence, Utaha is linguistically distinct from both Ura and Sie.
- (c) Available structural data suggest that Sie, Ura, and Utaha, show grammatical differences which are not merely dialectal, although they are clearly languages of a similar type.
- (d) The little information available on Sorung suggests that the variations between it and the other speech-forms are, as far as I can tell, too great to be classed as differences between dialects of the same language.

This somewhat impressionistic approach tends to confirm the view that Gordon's and Humphreys' 'dialects' are in fact distinct, though reasonably closely related, languages. I conclude therefore that there were at least five distinct languages spoken on Erromango at the time of European contact.

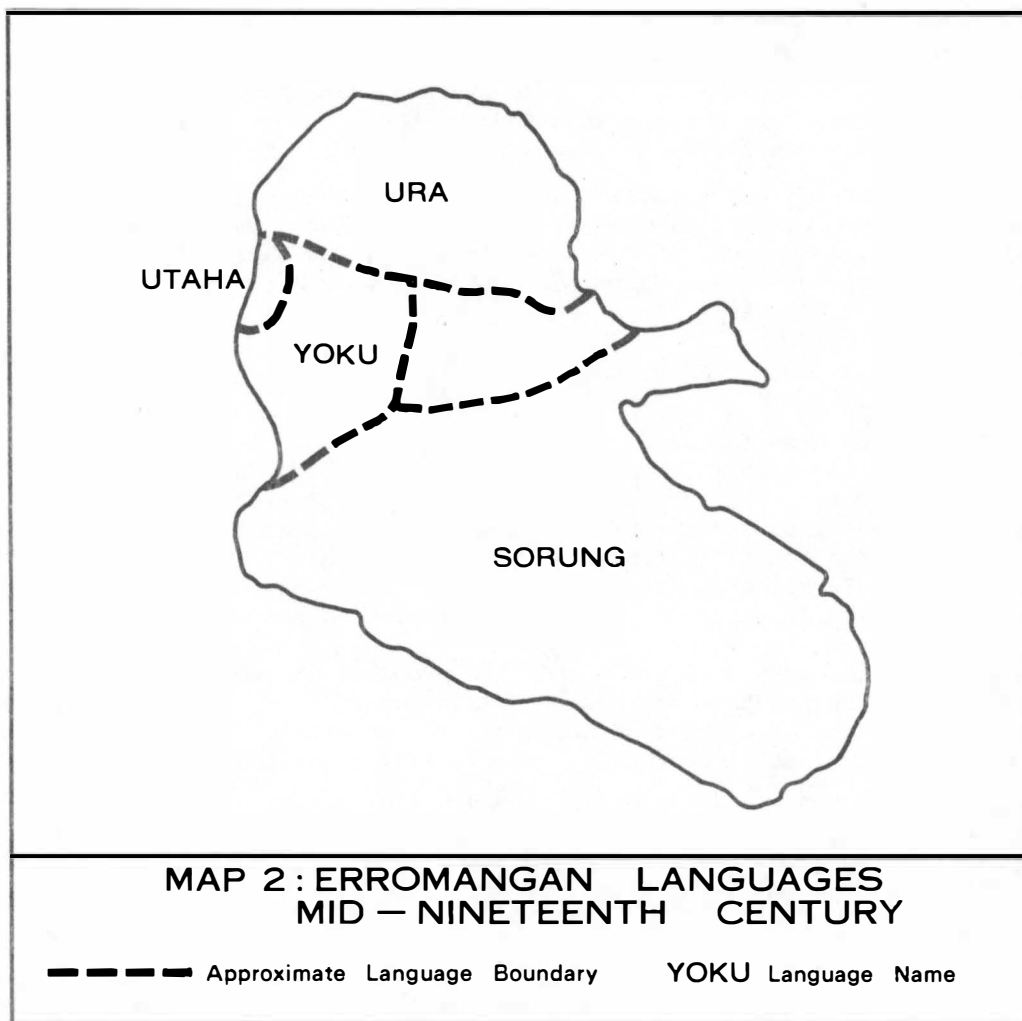
1.3. Location

Where were these languages spoken? Most sources which mention their locations at all agree that Yoku was spoken in the west, Sorung in the south, and Ura in the north, though few details are given. There has been some confusion, however, regarding the location of Utaha: Capell (1962:221) refers to "a southern dialect (Ifo, replacing the older Utaha)", but a map in another paper (Capell 1972:50) shows Utaha on the east coast, and his grammatical sketch of Sie (Capell MSa:7) refers to "Utaha or eastern dialect".

However, the most detailed — and thus probably the most reliable — description of the location of these languages comes from an anonymous nineteenth-century manuscript, 'Languages of Eromanga, New Hebrides'.⁶ Probably written by one of the Gordons, it gives the following locations of the languages:

- (a) Eniau (Yoku): spoken in Dillon's Bay and extending about eight miles north and ten miles south of Dillon's Bay; it intermingles with Utaha on the north and Sorung on the south and south-east.
- (b) Sorung: spoken between Unepang, twelve miles south of Dillon's Bay, and Traitor's Head, a distance of about fifty miles; it intermixes with Eniau on the one hand and Ura on the other.
- (c) Ura: spoken from Portinia [Potnuma] Bay to Uarringrie [Warengi?], about twenty-five miles more or to where it mixes with Eniau.
- (d) Utaha: spoken by a small tribe about five miles north of Dillon's Bay, but even then all but extinct.

Map 2 shows the probable locations of these four languages in the middle of the nineteenth century. No data on where the then extinct Novul-Amleng was spoken are available.



2. CHANGES IN THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION

The most recent survey of the languages of Vanuatu (Tryon 1976, 1978) shows that two languages are currently spoken on Erromango: Ura, with about ten speakers, and Sie, spoken by the remainder of the population. From an examination of the current situation it is clear that:

- (a) Novul-Amleng had already died out in Gordon's day.
- (b) Utaha, which Gordon labelled as "nearly extinct", has since become extinct; and
- (c) Ura is also heading towards extinction, with no more than ten speakers. My Ura informant, then aged about sixty, claimed in 1977 that he was the youngest surviving Ura-speaker, and that only six people still remembered the language.

What is not clear is what happened to the two largest languages in Gordon's day, Yoku and Sorung. Capell, for example, has remarked that

at the present day, there is considerable dialect confusion which is still spreading. The use of /h/ has spread. In the Mission texts, for example, the usual form for "woman" is /na'sivən/, but /na'hivən/ is even more often heard. This represents a southern dialect, which gained influence through the establishment of an "ideal Christian" village in the south called Nuru Navosavos, "Happy Land"... . It may be noted that this dialect, where the Yoku s becomes h seems to be gaining ground at present. (Capell 1972:51).

In Modern Sie, contrast between /s/ and /h/ has indeed been lost, and although Sie-speakers still appear to retain [s] in some words and [h] in others, [h] appears to be gaining ground. A comparison of earlier Yoku forms with forms in Modern Sie shows a strong tendency for earlier /s/ to become Sie /h/ in final position, and a weaker tendency for earlier /s/ to become Sie /h/ initially and medially (see chapter 2).

However, despite this spread of /h/, modern Sie does not appear to be a continuation of the old southern language Sorung, although it seems to have been strongly influenced by that language. We have available only twenty words in Sorung, but these are sufficient to show the basic identity of modern Sie with older Yoku rather than with Sorung. The useful comparisons are as follows:⁷

Sorung	Yoku	Modern Sie	
eti	te	ete	<i>to stay, be</i>
etni	netni	nitni	<i>his son</i>
hu	sai	hai	<i>one</i>
nahiven	nasiven	nahiven	<i>woman</i>
nin	nin	nin	<i>his name</i>
sat	sat, ur	ur	<i>bad</i>
sie	tie	se	<i>what?</i>
siklim	sukrim	sukrim	<i>five</i>
vilik	virog	virog	<i>small</i>

Apart from the s > h change, Sie lexical items appear to show clear continuation of the original Yoku rather than the original Sorung forms; note especially *hai one*, *ur bad*, *sukrim five*, and *virog small*.

On the other hand, the establishment of the mission station at Happy Land, and presumably other factors as well, may have been responsible for considerable Sorung influence on Yoku, yielding not only the $s > h$ change, but also other changes. It is clear, for example, that Sie has acquired an extra set of alienable possessives from Sorung. Almost the only grammatical data on Sorung given by Gordon (1889:80) is the following alienable possessive paradigm:

	Singular	Plural
1 inc.		sor it
2 exc.	sorun	soremam
2nd	sorum	soremi
3rd	isen	isenda

Gordon (1889:69) and Capell (MSa:32), on the other hand, are quite clear that Yoku also possessed only one set of alienable possessives:

	Singular	Plural
1 inc.		enogkos
1 exc.	enyau	enogkam
2nd	enogkik	enogkimi
3rd	eni	enirora

However, I recorded two sets of possessives in Sie, which are apparently used in free variation with each other. One set clearly derives from Yoku, the other from Sorung. The forms are:

	Set 1		Set 2	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 inc.		enogkoh		horent
1 exc.	eniau	enogkam	horun	hormam
2nd	enogkik	enogkimi	horom	hormi
3rd	eni	eniror	ihen	ihed

Other, minor, differences between Yoku and Sie grammar may well also be due to Sorung influence: with virtually no information available on Sorung, this question is now impossible to answer.

However, the demographic question remains. It is understandable that Utaha, with only fifty speakers in the mid-nineteenth century, should have disappeared as the island's population declined. Similarly, it is also understandable that Yoku, which acquired prestige as the language of the mission, was able to survive the devastation of the population with a reasonable number of speakers. What is difficult to understand is why Ura, small even in Gordon's day, managed to cling onto existence, while Sorung, twice the size of any other Erromangan language in the 1860s, should have disappeared altogether. One possible answer seems to be that it was quite closely related to Yoku, that Sorung-speakers found it both necessary (for religious reasons) and easy to learn Yoku, and that, as the population declined, Sorung-speakers grew up in Yoku-speaking mission stations, using their own version of Yoku. Modern Sie thus appears to be a continuation of a Sorung-influenced Yoku — i.e. Sorung, to some extent at least, still survives in Modern Sie.

The fate of Gordon's five named languages can thus be diagrammed as follows:

1860s/1870s		1970s/1980s
YOKU (c.1,000?)	_____	SIE (c.900)
SORUNG (c.2,000?)	_____ ?	extinct
URA (c.500?)	_____	URA (c.10; almost extinct)
UTAHA (c.50?)		extinct
NOVUL-AMLENG (extinct)		

3. THE PRESENT STUDY

This volume brings together a number of papers which present all the grammatical and lexical information available on the extinct Utaha and Sorung, as well as similar information on Sie and Ura. Since the publication of Gabelentz (1861-73), J.D. Gordon (1889), Kern (1906), and Ray (1926), almost nothing has appeared in print on the Erromangan languages: Capell (1957, 1972) and Lynch (1975, 1978a) are the only publications which look at phonology and grammar in any detail at all, and even these are only brief studies of certain aspects of grammar. Hence the need for a collection of available data.

The data on which the various studies in this volume are based vary considerably in both quality and quantity. Data on Ura, Utaha, and Sorung come mainly from Gordon (1889), with additional information from Capell (MSa, MSb) and Ray (1893, 1926). For Ura, these data are supplemented by my own fieldnotes and notes collected by Capell.⁸ The description of Sie grammar and vocabulary combine Capell's grammar sketch (MSa) and comparative dictionary (MSb) with my own extensive fieldnotes.

There are, naturally, considerable gaps in the data, even in the case of Sie, which is by far the best known of the Erromangan languages. Despite these gaps, I have felt it a worthwhile exercise to collect these studies together in one volume as a stimulation to further descriptive and comparative research.

NOTES

- ¹ See, for example, Spriggs 1981 for a discussion of some of the archaeological evidence, and Lynch 1978a for the linguistic evidence.
- ² Cook named the island, according to oral tradition, after pointing to the ground. The Erromangans, believing that he was questioning the quality of some yams they had brought to present to him, protested 'armai-ŋo' (good-plural) *they're good!*. Various spellings of the name of the island have been adopted in various sources, the commonest variations being between single and double r, and between final a and final o. I follow the standard usage of Tryon and Gély (1979).
- ³ See especially Shineberg (1967), and MacClancy (n.d.).

- 4 Reliable population data for the early years are extremely scanty: the various figures at different times were provided by different people whose closeness to the real situation varied considerably. Similarly, data on the effects of various epidemics are also scanty. McArthur and Yaxley (1968:8-10), however, briefly discuss the effects of (i) a dysentery epidemic in 1842, said to have killed off one-third of the population (Turner 1861:494); (ii) a hurricane followed by measles and dysentery in 1861 which the missionary G.N. Gordon (1861) felt had killed two-thirds of the population in some settlements; (iii) another hurricane in 1862, exacerbating the already serious food shortage; (iv) an epidemic resembling diphtheria in 1867; and (v) influenza outbreaks in 1873-4 and 1882, neither particularly serious. In addition, Matthew Spriggs (pers. comm.) believes that there is evidence for another epidemic in the 1830s, which certainly ravaged Aneityum and may well have affected Erromango as well.

There are also some doubts on the reliability of what early population figures there are:

There is reason to doubt that the population before the sandalwood era was as large as might be inferred from some of the early estimates. The basis for Gordon's estimate of 5,000 in 1859 ... was never explained. ... What was interpreted as depopulation may have been merely redistribution of population. (McArthur and Yaxley 1968:9).

But whether or not the figures are wholly accurate is really irrelevant here. What is clear from the figures is that the devastation of the population of Erromango is comparable to that which took place in Aneityum (McArthur 1974, Spriggs 1981), and that a population numbering some thousands in the middle of the last century had dropped to less than four hundred within a century.

- 5 I use the term 'speech-form' to refer to named or identified linguistic varieties while the question of whether they are to be classed as distinct languages or merely as dialects of one language is under discussion.
- 6 I am grateful to Darrell Tryon for the use of his notes on this reference.
- 7 The Yoku data are from Capell's manuscript dictionary (MSb) while the Sie data are from my own notes. Only nine of the twenty extant Sorung words may be usefully compared with Yoku/Sie.
- 8 Some of Capell's data appeared in Tryon (1976), while the then available data on Ura were summarised in Lynch (1982a).

CHAPTER 2

SIE GRAMMAR OUTLINE

0. INTRODUCTION

As noted in the previous chapter, Sie is the sole surviving viable language of Erromango, representing a continuation of Yoku, the prestige mission language of the west coast, but affected to an unknown extent by Sorung, a now extinct language once spoken in the south and east of the island.

0.1. Sie dialects

Little work has been carried out on dialect differentiation in Sie. Lists collected by Capell at Dillon's Bay in the central west, Ifo in the south, and Potnarvin in the north-east, show the following cognate percentages:

Dillon's Bay:	Potnarvin	-	91%
Dillon's Bay:	Ifo	-	91%
Potnarvin:	Ifo	-	95%

Phonologically, these dialects are very similar, with Dillon's Bay final /g/ corresponding with Ifo and Potnarvin final /k/ or, occasionally, Ø, and with many occurrences of Dillon's Bay /s/ corresponding with Ifo and Potnarvin /h/ (cf. 1.3. below). What little structural information there is available on Ifo and Potnarvin shows virtually no variation from the Dillon's Bay dialect, which forms the basis for the present study.

0.2. Genesis of the present study

In 1928, one of us (Capell) wrote a more comprehensive grammar sketch of Sie than that published in Ray (1926), but still a sketch based on the mission translations. This manuscript was later substantially revised after World War II when he was able to collect a certain amount of first-hand information on the Erromangan languages. However, neither this manuscript, simply titled 'Eromanga', nor its companion, 'An Eromangan Comparative Dictionary', has ever been published, although certain parts of them have appeared in other works of Capell's.

During the 1960s and 1970s, while carrying out fieldwork on Lenakel and other languages of the neighbouring island of Tanna, Lynch was also able to collect a certain amount of information on Sie. Again, very little of this information has been published.

Neither of us has felt that the amount of material we had independently collected was sufficient to allow for the publication of a 'respectable' grammar of Sie. Particularly since the language is not of the common type found in the better-known Eastern Oceanic areas of Melanesia, we felt that a detailed treatment was necessary. However, we now believe that a joint production is desirable at this stage, since linguistic activity on Erromango in recent years has been minimal, and is likely to remain so for some time. This joint production will at the very least allow what information is available on this historically important Austronesian language to see the light of day, and will point up areas — of which, needless to say, there are many — in which further research is urgently needed.

Accordingly, we have attempted to combine Capell's manuscript grammar with Lynch's unpublished analyses. The aim of this study is thus to present in as clear a form as possible what we do know about Sie. Where at all possible, example sentences are given from elicited data or spoken texts rather than the mission translations since these, especially in orthography, are not of good quality. In addition, areas of disagreement between our analyses have been highlighted rather than played down, since they may throw light either on dialect differences or, more probably, possible language change in the period between Capell's and Lynch's fieldwork.

Throughout the text, the first person plural indicates that both of us basically agree on a particular grammatical interpretation; the first person singular reflects only Lynch's interpretations of the grammatical data. Where possible or desirable, comparison has been made with what is known of other languages of Erromango, and with other languages of the Southern Vanuatu region. Cases of possible grammatical or phonological change in recent times have also been noted.

1. SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY OUTLINE

This section presents an outline of the segmental phonology of Sie, together with a brief comment on Sie orthography. Previously published accounts of various aspects of the language (e.g. Ray 1926, Capell 1972) pay little attention to the phonology, and Ray's work in particular suffers from a number of inaccuracies, due in no small part to the poor orthography developed by the Presbyterian missionaries during the last century (see 1.7. below).

1.1. The phonemes

Twenty-three phonemes are recognised in Sie, eighteen consonants and five vowels. The phonemes are listed in chart form below.

TABLE I: Sie consonant phonemes

	Velarised Bilabials	Bilabials	Dentals	Alveolars	Palatal	Velars	Post-Velar
Voiceless stops	pw	p	t			k	
Voiced stop				d			
Voiceless fricatives		f	s				
Voiced fricatives		v				g	
Nasals	mw	m		n		ŋ	
Lateral				l			
Vibrant				r			
Semivowels	w				y		

TABLE II: Sie vowel phonemes

	Front Unround	Central	Back Round
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Three sets of phonemes need to be justified before the allophones of the phonemes are discussed. These are the velarised bilabials /pw/ and /mw/, the voiced stop /d/, and the semivowels /y/ and /w/.

The velarised bilabial phonemes /pw/ and /mw/ are established as unit phonemes (as opposed to sequences of stop or nasal phoneme + /w/) largely in response to phonotactic pressure. The phonotactics of Sie are discussed in detail in 1.4. below, but what is relevant here are the following rules: first, initial consonant clusters are normally not permitted (although a few exceptional cases do result from the loss of a vowel in historical times); and second, the phonotactic rules of Sie normally allow medial clusters of no more than two consonants, the only exceptions being medial three-consonant clusters whose first two members are a nasal and a homorganic voiceless stop. However, [p^w] and [m^w] may occur initially:

(1)	/pwagah/	[p ^w áyah]	<i>day(light)</i>
	/mwor/	[m ^w óʔ]	<i>left (hand)</i>
	/pwarap/	[p ^w áʔap ^h]	<i>evening</i>

and clusters of consonant + /pw/ may occur medially:

(2)	/nelpwonoru-ŋ/	[nɛl ^ə p ^w ɔ́nóʔʉŋ]	<i>my arm</i>
	/pwagahpwagah/	[p ^w áyahp ^w áyah]	<i>midday</i>

(Note that /mw/ is rare in Sie, and no medial clusters involving /mw/ have been observed.) For these reasons, then, [p^w] and [m^w] are treated as unit phonemes /pw/ and /mw/.¹

There is only one voiced stop, /d/, which is also the only prenasalised stop in the language. Contrast between /t/ and /d/ is clear in all environments:

(3)	/ta-n/	[tán]	<i>his skin</i>
	/dan/	[ⁿ dán]	<i>day</i>
	/netukus/	[netúkʉs]	<i>salt</i>
	/nedu/	[nɛ ⁿ du]	<i>k.o. tree</i>
	/novlimet/	[noβ ^ə límɛt ^h]	<i>eyebrow</i>
	/dinme-d/	[ⁿ dín ^ə mɛ ⁿ d]	<i>their mother</i>

There is also clear contrast medially and finally between a cluster of /n/ + /t/ and the prenasalised stop /d/:

(4)	/tantop/	[tánt ^h ɔp ^h]	<i>long</i>
	/mado/	[má ⁿ dɔ]	<i>kava-bowl</i>
	/dinme-nt/	[ⁿ dín ^ə mɛnt ^h]	<i>our (inc.) mother</i>
	/dinme-d/	[ⁿ dín ^ə mɛ ⁿ d]	<i>their mother</i>

Since there is no non-prenasalised [d] in Sie, it is clear that /d/ is a unit phoneme.

As will be seen in 1.2., the high vowels /i/ and /u/ have non-syllabic allophones in certain environments. Nevertheless, semivowel phonemes /y/ and /w/ are also posited. Sequences of consonant + non-syllabic high vowel are always accompanied by close transition, whereas consonant + semivowel sequences are usually accompanied by open transition (symbolised here by a raised [ə] – see sections 1.4. and 1.5. for further discussion). Examples:

(5)	/orofenuo/	[əʔɔ́fɛnuɔ]	<i>k.o. yam</i>
	/nevenwane/	[nɛβɛn ^ə wáne]	<i>k.o. fish</i>
	/netuo/	[nétuɔ]	<i>fowl</i>
	/elwa/	[él ^ə wa]	<i>to vomit</i>

/malia/	[máɭia]	<i>k.o. yam</i>
/uvilyoru/	[ùβɪɭ ^ə yóʔu]	<i>breeze</i>

1.2. Allophones

In the tables below are given the allophones of the Sie phonemes, together with a phonetic description and a statement of distribution. The consonant allophones are given in Table III. It will be seen that all the voiceless stops follow the same pattern (aspirated finally and after nasals, lenis unaspirated elsewhere); the bilabial fricatives also both behave identically (labiodental before /a/, bilabial elsewhere).

TABLE III: Allophones of Sie consonants

Phoneme	Allophone	Description	Distribution
/pw/	[p ^{wh}]	Voiceless aspirated velarised bilabial stop	Finally and after a nasal
	[p ^w]	Voiceless lenis velarised bilabial stop	Elsewhere
/p/	[p ^h]	Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop	Finally and after a nasal
	[p]	Voiceless lenis bilabial stop	Elsewhere
/t/	[t ^h]	Voiceless aspirated dental stop	Finally and after a nasal
	[t]	Voiceless lenis dental stop	Elsewhere
/k/	[k ^h]	Voiceless aspirated velar stop	Finally and after a nasal
	[k]	Voiceless lenis velar stop	Elsewhere
/d/	[ⁿ d]	Voiceless prenasalised alveolar stop	All environments
/f/	[f]	Voiceless labiodental fricative	Before /a/
	[f ^w]	Voiceless velarised labiodental fricative	In free variation with [f]
	[ɸ]	Voiceless bilabial fricative	Elsewhere
	[ɸ ^w]	Voiceless velarised bilabial fricative	In free variation with [ɸ]; rare
/v/	[v]	Voiced labiodental fricative	Before /a/
	[v ^w]	Voiced velarised labiodental fricative	In free variation with [v]; rare
	[β]	Voiced bilabial fricative	Elsewhere

continued

Phoneme	Allophone	Description	Distribution
	[β ^w]	Voiced velarised bilabial fricative	In free variation with [β]; rare
/s/	[s]	Voiced dental fricative	All environments
/g/	[ɣ]	Voiced velar fricative	All environments
/h/	[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative	All environments
	[x]	Voiceless velar fricative	Sporadically, in free variation with [h] finally
/mw/	[m ^w]	Voiced velarised bilabial nasal	All environments
/m/	[m]	Voiced bilabial nasal	All environments
/n/	[n]	Voiced alveolar nasal	All environments
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	Voiced velar nasal	All environments
/l/	[l]	Voiced alveolar lateral	All environments
/r/	[ɾ]	Voiced alveolar flap	All environments
	[r̥]	Voiced alveolar trill	In free variation with [ɾ] after /t/
/w/	[w]	Voiced high back rounded semivowel	All environments
/y/	[y]	Voiced high front unrounded semivowel	All environments

The allophones of the vowel phonemes are given in Table IV below. A number of vowel allophone environments require a brief description of syllable-types in Sie. Briefly, closed syllables end in consonants and open syllables in vowels. A non-final vowel followed by CV ends an open syllable, whereas a non-final vowel followed by CCV forms the nucleus of a closed syllable. It will be seen that identical tensing and laxing rules apply to the two high vowels; however, the mid vowels behave differently from each other and from the high vowels in the matter of tensing/laxing. All vowels may occasionally reduce to [ə] in a pretonic syllable.

TABLE IV: Allophones of Sie vowels

Phoneme	Allophone	Description	Distribution
/i/	[i̥]	High front tense unrounded non-syllabic vowel	Adjacent to another vowel
	[i]	High front tense unrounded vowel	In open syllables
	[ɪ]	High front lax unrounded vowel	In closed syllables
/e/	[e]	Mid front tense unrounded vowel	Before /y/ or a vowel
	[ɛ]	Mid front lax unrounded vowel	Elsewhere
/a/	[a]	Low central lax unrounded vowel	All environments
/o/	[o]	Mid back tense rounded vowel	Before a vowel
	[ɔ̃]	Mid back lax rounded nasalised vowel	Before a nasal consonant
	[ɔ]	Mid back lax rounded vowel	Elsewhere
/u/	[u̥]	High back tense rounded non-syllabic vowel	Adjacent to another vowel
	[u]	High back tense rounded vowel	In open syllables
	[ũ]	High back tense rounded nasalised vowel	In free variation with [u] before a nasal consonant
	[ʊ]	High back lax rounded vowel	In closed syllables
	[ũ]	High back lax rounded nasalised vowel	In free variation with [ʊ] before a nasal consonant

1.3. Contrast

Evidence is given in this section to show that the phonemes listed in the previous sections contrast with one another. For reasons of space, only pairs or groups of phonemes with a certain amount of phonetic similarity are contrasted in the examples below.

Contrast between the five vowel phonemes can be established from a number of sets like the following:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------|---------------------|
| (6) | /navanavan/ | [nàvanávan] | <i>fugitive</i> |
| | /nevar/ | [névař] | <i>load, burden</i> |
| | /nival/ | [níval] | <i>mast</i> |

/novar/	[nóvař]	<i>wall</i>
/nuval/	[núval]	<i>fat (n.)</i>
/are/	[ářε]	<i>make excuses</i>
/ereveni/	[ěřεβéni]	<i>draw, attract</i>
/ire/	[ířε]	<i>today</i>
/orei/	[óřei]	<i>scratch</i>
/ure/	[úřε]	<i>argue</i>

Examples of contrast between pairs or groups of phonetically similar consonant phonemes are given below:

(7) /pw/:/p/:/f/:/v/:/w/

/pwoŋku/	[p ^w ɔŋk ^h u]	<i>k.o. tree</i>
/poŋvat/	[pɔŋ ^h vat ^h]	<i>thick</i>
/fonfati/	[fɔn ^h fáti]	<i>k.o. tree</i>
/voŋi/	[βɔŋi]	<i>yield fruit</i>
/wolu/	[wɔlu]	<i>k.o. tree</i>
/pwatni/	[p ^w át ^h ni]	<i>banana sp.</i>
/patmonu/	[pat ^h mɔnu]	<i>heart</i>
/fan/	[fán]	<i>flesh</i>
/vavgom/	[váβ ^h γɔm]	<i>a fan</i>
/warki/	[wář ^h ki]	<i>strong</i>

(8) /m/:/mw/:/w/

/mori/	[móři]	<i>k.o. tree</i>
/mwor/	[m ^w ɔř]	<i>left (hand)</i>
/woraŋi/	[wɔřáŋi]	<i>laugh at sth. bad</i>

(9) /t/:/d/:/r/

/ta-n/	[tán]	<i>his skin</i>
/dan/	[ⁿ dán]	<i>day</i>
/ra/	[řá]	<i>locative preposition</i>

(10) /t/:/s/

/tempelei/	[tɛmp ^h éleĩ]	<i>smooth</i>
/sempelog/	[sɛmp ^h éloɣ]	<i>joist, beam</i>
/tompoi/	[tɔmp ^h oi]	<i>bush</i>
/sompog/	[sɔmp ^h ɔɣ]	<i>snore</i>

- (11) /d/:/n/
- | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| /dogu/ | [ⁿ dóyu] | <i>axe</i> |
| /nogut/ | [nóyut ^h] | <i>louse</i> |
| /deve/ | [ⁿ déβε] | <i>how many?</i> |
| /neven/ | [néβen] | <i>freshwater eel</i> |
- (12) /l/:/n/:/r/
- | | | |
|--------|-------|-----------------|
| /tal/ | [tál] | <i>taro</i> |
| /ta-n/ | [tán] | <i>his skin</i> |
| /tar/ | [táʔ] | <i>to fight</i> |
- (13) /k/:/g/
- | | | |
|----------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| /kimi/ | [kími] | <i>you (pl.)</i> |
| /gimpit/ | [γímp ^h it ^h] | <i>k.o. fish</i> |
| /kuri/ | [kúʔi] | <i>dog</i> |
| /gumpam/ | [γúmp ^h am] | <i>yam sp.</i> |
- (14) /g/:/h/
- | | | |
|----------|----------|-------------------|
| /noguog/ | [nóγuoγ] | <i>earthquake</i> |
| /nohuo/ | [nóhuo] | <i>yam sp.</i> |
- (15) /g/: no phoneme
- | | | |
|--------|----------------------|-------------------|
| /dogu/ | [ⁿ dóyu] | <i>axe</i> |
| /dou/ | [ⁿ dóu] | <i>ship, boat</i> |
- (16) /h/: no phoneme
- | | | |
|-------|-------|--------------|
| /hai/ | [háĩ] | <i>one</i> |
| /ai/ | [áĩ] | <i>blunt</i> |
- (17) /n/:/ŋ/
- | | | |
|-----------|----------|-----------------|
| /noura-n/ | [núʔʔan] | <i>his bone</i> |
| /noura-ŋ/ | [núʔʔaŋ] | <i>my bone</i> |

Variation between /s/ and /h/ was mentioned in the previous chapter, and also in section 0.1. above. There is a sound change in progress in Sie, by which /s/ and /h/ are merging, as [h]. Contrast between /s/ and /h/ is clear from the work of earlier scholars, and Capell's manuscript dictionary (MSb), for example, shows such forms as *horoŋ powerful* in contrast with *soroŋi to seek for*. It seems to me that /s/ changed to /h/ first in final position, then non-finally before non-front vowels, especially /a/. Influence of non-standard dialects, or of now dead languages, has variously been held as the cause of the change, but the reasons for and the history of the change are still obscure. It should be noted, however, that a similar change, though far less advanced in its effects, seems to be taking place in the languages of Tanna.²

Since the change is still in progress in Sie, it is on the one hand impossible to say that /s/ has merged with /h/, and on the other hand difficult to give minimal pairs for the two phonemes, since most Sie-speakers will accept – even if they do not themselves necessarily produce – forms containing either /s/ or /h/. A form such as /vetmis/ *sky*, for example, will be more often heard as [βét̪mɪs], but [βét̪mɪh] is also acceptable; while a form like /hai/ *one*, written sai in earlier works, will normally be heard as [háɪ], but [sáɪ] will be accepted. The amount of individual variation is not clear, and further research is needed to document the nature and process of the change. In this work, we write /h/ in words where [h] is heard more frequently than [s], and /s/ where [s] is more frequent.

1.4. Phonotactics

A syllable in Sie normally requires a vowel, and may contain two vowels, providing that one of them is non-syllabic (i.e. the [i̯] or [u̯] allophones of /i/ and /u/). A syllable may begin with a single consonant, and may end with either a single consonant or a homorganic nasal + stop cluster. Thus medial consonant clusters are generally of no more than two consonants, but three-consonant medial clusters may occur if the first two consonants are nasal + homorganic stop. Some examples of the syllable structure of words are given below; the period in the phonetic representation indicates the syllable-boundary.

(18)	/ehapi/	[ɛ.há.pi]	<i>to count</i>
	/netuo/	[né.tuɔ]	<i>fowl</i>
	/nam/	[nám]	<i>word</i>
	/empgo/	[émph.əɣɔ]	<i>to dance</i>
	/isut/	[ɪ.sut ^h]	<i>far</i>
	/urait/	[ú.ɾait ^h]	<i>rope</i>
	/novlaimpgo-n/	[nɔβ.əɪláɪmp ^h .əɣɔn]	<i>its tail</i>

A handful of words, however, show initial two-consonant clusters. A list of these is given below, together with the form in which they are given in Capell's manuscript dictionary (MSb):

(19)	Forms with initial CC		Capell (MSb)
	/dvat/	<i>four</i>	devat
	/dve/ ~ /deve/	<i>how many?</i>	deve
	/mran/	<i>tomorrow</i>	mran
	/nmah/	<i>clothes, sail</i>	nemas
	/nmah/	<i>low tide</i>	nemas
	/nmap/	<i>ground</i>	nemap
	/nmar/	<i>breadfruit</i>	nemar
	/nraŋaŋon/	<i>animal</i>	-
	/nva-/	<i>thigh</i>	nevan
	/nvaŋ/	<i>food</i>	nevaŋ
	/nvat/	<i>stone</i>	nevat
	/nworopatevi/	<i>condemnation</i>	nworopatevi
	/pruvgum/	<i>morning</i>	pruvogom

Capell's MS also notes that a number of these forms were (irregularly) stressed on the final syllable. It seems to me that, possibly because of this final stress, pretonic /e/ weakened first to [ə] and was then lost, with original [nɛmáʔ] *breadfruit*, for example, becoming first [nə́máʔ] and then [nmáʔ] (or, more accurately, [nə́máʔ] with open transition between [n] and [m]). Something similar seems to be taking place now with /deve/ *how many?*, which I recorded on different occasions as [ndéβɛ], [ndɛβɛ] and [ndə́βɛ].

Supporting evidence for this hypothesis comes from another regular feature of Sie phonotactics, to which we now turn. Although geminate consonant clusters do not occur, there appear to be very few restrictions on the composition of two-consonant clusters. The phonemes /pw/, /mw/, and /f/ are of low frequency in Sie, and this makes it difficult to provide a complete general statement. However, the first consonant of a cluster may be any consonant except /pw/, /f/, /mw/, /w/, and /y/, while the second consonant of a cluster may be any consonant except /d/ and /mw/. Clusters of homorganic consonants involve close transition, while heterorganic clusters involve open transition, with an epenthetic schwa-vowel which, however, is not relevant to the assignment of stress. Compare:

(20)	/tantop/	[tánt ^h ɔp ^h]	<i>long</i>
	/sompat/	[sɔ́mp ^h at ^h]	<i>to shut</i>
	/gumpam/	[ɣúmp ^h am]	<i>yam sp.</i>

with

(21)	/novlimet/	[nɔβ ^ə límɛt ^h]	<i>eyebrow</i>
	/warki/	[wáʔ ^ə ki]	<i>strong</i>
	/nelve-n/	[né ^ə l ^ə βɛn]	<i>his tooth</i>
	/pwatni/	[p ^w át ^ə ni]	<i>banana sp.</i>

In such cases of epenthesis, when the first member of the consonant cluster is /h/, then the epenthetic vowel is not [ə] but a copy of the preceding vowel:

(22)	/mehkai/	[méh ^ɛ kai]	<i>six</i>
	/nahvu/	[náh ^a βu]	<i>turtle</i>

All vowels occur initially, medially, and finally. All consonants also occur initially and medially, and all except /pw/, /v/, /mw/, /w/, and /y/ also occur finally. Geminate vowels do not occur. All other combinations of two vowels may occur within Sie morphemes, with the exception of clusters of mid vowels (* /eo/, * /oe/) and clusters involving /a/ + mid vowel (* /ae/, * /ao/).³

1.5. Stress

Apart from a handful of words with stress on the final syllable, primary stress in Sie falls on the vowel of a monosyllable and the penultimate vowel of a polysyllable:

(23)	/nup/	[núp ^h]	<i>yam</i>
	/nomu/	[nɔ́mu]	<i>fish</i>
	/umole/	[umó ^ə lɛ]	<i>ant</i>

Epenthetic vowels inserted to break up heterorganic consonant clusters are not stressed, nor are they counted as syllabic in the assignment of stress:

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|---|------------------|
| (24) | /nelve-n/ | [nɛl ^ə βɛn] | <i>his tooth</i> |
| | /novlaimpgo-n/ | [nɔβ ^ə lái ^{hə} mp ^ə γɔ̃n] | <i>its tail</i> |
| | /mehkai/ | [mɛh ^ɛ kaɪ] | <i>six</i> |

Secondary stress occurs on the initial syllable of words of more than three syllables:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|---|------------------------------|
| (25) | /orutenmogi/ | [òʔuten ^ə mɔ̃gi] | <i>to sink (trans.)</i> |
| | /osavlahakgi/ | [òsaβ ^ə lahák ^ə gi] | <i>to turn over (trans.)</i> |

1.6. Morphophonemics

Sie morphemes undergo a considerable amount of morphophonemic variation. Most of these processes are peculiar to one grammatical context, and will be dealt with in the appropriate section of the grammar. There is, however, one process which is more general in application, and that process is discussed here.

There is a rule of Sie phonology that an unacceptable underlying consonant cluster occurring across a morpheme-boundary is broken up by the insertion of a vowel. At the present stage of research, we are unable to define precisely which such clusters are unacceptable. Certainly, medial three-consonant clusters are unacceptable, and the vowel is inserted between the second and third of these consonants. In addition, final two-consonant clusters are unacceptable. (In both these cases, of course, a homorganic nasal + stop cluster is an exception to these general statements.) However, certain medial two-consonant clusters are also unacceptable, and it is in this area where our uncertainty lies.

Whatever the exact environment, the rule itself is clear. The inserted vowel is /o/ if one of the consonants involved is a velar; otherwise, the inserted vowel is /e/.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| (26) | Underlying | Surface | |
| | /g-okil-g/ | /gokilog/ | <i>he knew you (sg.)</i> |
| | /g-tai/ | /gotai/ | <i>he hit it</i> |
| | /sukrim-duru/ | /sukrimeduru/ | <i>seven</i> |
| | /kok-l-n-eni/ | /koklennen/ | <i>we (inc.) will eat</i> |

1.7. Orthography

The original (in more than one sense) Presbyterian mission orthography for the Erromangan languages included such exoticisms as *ī* for the sequence /ai/, *x* for /au/, and *c* for /oi/. These, fortunately, were soon abandoned. However, no version of the mission orthography recognised the velarised bilabials /pw/ and /mw/, nor was a distinction made between the velar stop /k/ and the velar fricative /g/. As in many other areas of Oceania, the symbol *g* was used to represent the velar nasal /ŋ/.

Perhaps the only significant points regarding the orthography used here are the symbolisation of the velar fricative (g) and the velar nasal (ŋ). We have avoided the use of g as a symbol for either of these phonemes, since its use is likely to cause some confusion. A previous attempt to use x for the velar fricative (Lynch 1974) was not well received by Erromangans, and the use of gh for /g/ would also lead to confusion, many Erromangans treating this as /ŋ/ + /h/. Although the symbol c is used in Anejom (Aneityumese) for the velar fricative, we have not thought this convention worth introducing.

2. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY AND THE VERB PHRASE

We begin the discussion of Sie grammar with its most complex area, the morphological structure of the verb, and in this section we also examine the structure of the verb phrase, which is relatively simple.

2.1. Verb morphology

The verb in Sie consists of a complex of affixes attached to a verb root. These affixes refer, inter alia, to the person and number of the subject and the object, tense and aspect, negativity, and various modalities. The system is complicated by fairly complex morphophonemics, including consonant alternation within the verb root itself. The general structure of the verb will not be given at this stage, since different tense/aspects require different structures. However, it can be pointed out at this stage that prefixes to the verb root include those marking person and number of subject, negativity, and tense/aspect; while suffixes include those marking person and number of object, transitivity, and completion.

2.1.1. Verb root

Over half the verb roots in Sie, as in all the other non-Polynesian languages of Southern Vanuatu, are vowel-initial. This vowel is perhaps most often /a/, /e/, or /o/; /i/- and /u/-initial verbs are quite rare. Historical evidence shows that this initial vowel is an accretion to an original consonant-initial root; compare the following Sie verb roots (many including the transitive suffix -i) with their original forms in Proto-Oceanic (POC):

(27)	Sie	POC	
	atki	*tuki	<i>pound</i>
	avan	*pano	<i>walk, go</i>
	elua	*luaq	<i>vomit</i>
	etri	*tuRi	<i>sew</i>
	oghi	*kita	<i>see</i>
	orŋi	*doŋoR	<i>hear</i>

Whatever functions this initial vowel might once have had, it no longer has any function in modern Sie.⁴

A number of Oceanic languages show variant forms of the verb root, one form occurring in what might loosely be termed the realis mode, and the other in the irrealis mode. These variants generally involve alternation between nasal and

non-nasal consonants, or between oral and prenasalised consonants, or between the reflexes (often fricative) of POC oral grade consonants and the reflexes (often stop) of POC nasal grade consonants.⁵ In Sie, this oral/nasal alternation occurs, in various forms, with a large number of verb roots, though not all. The oral grade is used in the past tenses and the past conditional, while the nasal grade is used in the non-past tenses (present, future, and future conditional tenses) – i.e. the distinction can loosely be termed a realis/irrealis distinction. For example:

(28)	General past tense: Oral grade	Future tense: Nasal grade
	<i>g-oghi</i> <i>he saw</i>	<i>g-aŋhi</i> <i>he will see</i>
	<i>g-ovoli</i> <i>he turned</i>	<i>g-ampoli</i> <i>he will turn</i>
	<i>g-orŋi</i> <i>he heard</i>	<i>g-adŋi</i> <i>he will hear</i>
	<i>g-ete</i> <i>he stayed</i>	<i>g-ante</i> <i>he will stay</i>

For convenience, we refer to 'past' and 'non-past' tenses in discussing this alternation in Sie.

It should be obvious from (28) above that not only is there a change from oral grade to nasal grade in the first *consonant* of the verb root, but there is also a change in *vowel quality* in the initial, historically accreted, vowel. Thus the past/non-past alternations in Sie verb roots involve not only consonantal alternations of the kind *g/ŋ*, *v/mp*, *r/d*, etc., but also vowel alternations of the kind *o/a*, *e/a*, etc. Although, as mentioned earlier, not all verb roots undergo these alternations, it will be convenient to show the nature of these alternations first in tabular form, and then discuss their operation in more detail. The alternations, with examples, are given in Table V below.

TABLE V: Verb root alternations					
Initial segment(s) of verb root		Example			
Past	> Non-Past	Past	Non-Past		
v-	amp-	velam	ampelam	<i>come</i>	
ov-	amp-	ovoŋi	ampoŋi	<i>give</i>	
ev-	amp-	evip	ampip	<i>rain</i>	
t-	nt-	taloŋi	ntaloŋi	<i>kill</i>	
ot-	ant-	otihep	antihep	<i>put</i>	
et-	ant-	etvani	antvani	<i>spit</i>	
or-	ad-	oruh	aduh	<i>swim, bathe</i>	
ogh-	aŋh-	oghi	aŋhi	<i>see</i>	
og-	aŋk-	ogol	aŋkol	<i>dig</i>	
ok-	aŋk-	okili	aŋkili	<i>know</i>	
e-	a-	elua	alua	<i>vomit</i>	

The alternation rules shown in Table V are partly ordered: i.e. the rule *ogh-* > *aŋh-* precedes the rule *og-* > *aŋk-*, since this latter rule applies to all *og-* initial verb roots except those in which the initial *og-* is followed by *h*. The rules clearly involve.

- change of the initial vowel to /a/; and
- addition of a nasal before the first consonant of the root

if that consonant was an obstruent; non-stopped obstruents change to stops in this environment (thus $v > \text{amp-}$, for example). Presumably, the case of $\text{ogh-} > \text{a}\eta\text{h-}$ (for excepted $**\text{a}\eta\text{kh-}$) involves later deletion of the /k/ before /h/ for reasons which are not clear at this stage.

Vowel-initial verb roots which do not fit the structural description of any of the rules in Table V add /n/ to the past form to form the non-past form: thus $\text{avan} > \text{n-avan}$ *walk*, $\text{isor} > \text{n-isor}$ *copulate*, $\text{ouyo}\eta > \text{n-ouyo}\eta$ *awaken*, etc. There are very few examples of consonant-initial verb roots where the consonant is not /t/ because of the historical process of initial vowel-accretion discussed earlier; of these, almost all fit the structural description of one of the rules in Table V. Of those which do not, a vowel seems to be prefixed to the past to form the non-past. I have found a few verb roots with initial /s/ and /y/ which add /e/ to form the non-past ($\text{sag} > \text{e-sag}$ *go up*, $\text{yevi} > \text{e-yevi}$ *pull*), and a couple of verbs with initial /m/ which add /a/ to form the non-past ($\text{mah} > \text{a-mah}$ *die*).

There are, however, a number of exceptions to these rules – i.e. verb roots which fit the structural description of one of the rules in Table V but, instead of undergoing the alternation, simply add /n/. Some of the more common verb roots which are exceptional are listed below:

(29) Past Root	Expected Non-Past	Actual Non-Past	
ovi	$**\text{ampi}$	n-ovi	<i>cut</i>
orei	$**\text{adei}$	n-orei	<i>scratch</i>
oravi	$**\text{adavi}$	n-oravi	<i>flow</i>
oral	$**\text{adal}$	n-oral	<i>flow</i>
esomsah	$**\text{asomsah}$	n-esomsah	<i>breathe</i>
elgavi	$**\text{algavi}$	n-elgavi	<i>hold</i>
elimsi	$**\text{alimsi}$	n-elimsi	<i>blow, of wind</i>
eni	$**\text{ani}$	n-eni	<i>eat</i>

Historically, the explanation for these irregularities may well be that the initial vowel of these verb roots is not in fact the accreted prefix but is the first vowel of the root itself. Thus eni *eat* derives from POC $*\text{kani}$, and orei *scratch* may well derive from POC $*\text{kori}$; in each case, verb-initial $*\text{k}$ has been lost, and the vowel which is now verb-initial is in fact part of the original root. Whether or not this historical explanation is accurate, however, is largely irrelevant to the present discussion; what is relevant is that the process of alternation is probably no longer productive in Sie. That is, given any verb root which fits the structural description of one of the rules in Table V, one cannot predict whether that verb will in fact undergo the alternation.

2.1.2. Subject and tense/aspect prefixes

The marking of person and number of subject and tense/aspect in the Sie verb is quite complex. The simplest way of proceeding here is first to give paradigms of the various tenses in all persons and numbers, and then to give an analysis. Accordingly, Table VI sets out the paradigms for the verb oghi (non-past $\text{a}\eta\text{hi}$) *see*. It should be noted that, as well as being morphologically complex, there are also complex morphophonemic processes involved; these will be discussed in the course of the establishment of the various prefixes.

The tense/aspects which have been identified for Sie verbs are as follows:

1. general past, which is used to refer either to an action which took place in the recent past, or to an action which took place at some unspecified time in the past;
2. mid past, which refers to an action which took place not recently but not long ago (some informants suggest that this can be used for any time between, say, 'last week' and 'last year', but this has not been adequately tested as yet);
3. far past, which refers to an action which took place much longer ago than those referred to by the mid past tense;
4. present, referring to an action which is taking place at the moment of speaking, or to a habitual action;
5. future, referring to an action which has not as yet taken place; and
6. conditional, of which both past and non-past forms occur, and which is used in certain syntactic environments which will be discussed in section 6 below.

TABLE VI: Verbal paradigms

	General Past	Future	Present	Mid Past
1 sg.	yogoghi	yagaghi	yagamaghi	yaumoghi
2 sg.	koghi	kaghi	kemaghi	kimoghi
3 sg.	goghi	gaghi	gamaghi	yoghi
1 inc.du.	kokughi	kokuaghi	kokumaghi	komughi
1 exc.du.	kakughi	kakuaghi	kakumaghi	kamughi
1 inc.pl.	{ kokloghi kologhi	{ koklaghi kolaghi	kokemlaghi	komloghi
1 exc.pl.	{ kakloghi kaloghi	{ kaklaghi kalaghi	kakemlaghi	kamloghi
2 pl.	kughi	kuaghi	kumaghi	kimughi
3 pl.	gughi	guaghi	gumaghi	dughi
	Far Past	Past Conditional	Non-Past Conditional	
1 sg.	yaumemoghi	yaupoghi	yaupemaghi	
2 sg.	kimumoghi	kipoghi	kipemaghi	
3 sg.	yemoghi	poghi	pemaghi	
1 inc.du.	komumoghi	kopughi	kopumaghi	
1 exc.du.	kamumoghi	kapughi	kapumaghi	
1 inc.pl.	komemloghi	koploghi	koplemlaghi	
1 exc.pl.	kamemloghi	kaploghi	kaplemlaghi	
2 pl.	kumumoghi	kipughi	kipumaghi	
3 pl.	dumoghi	pughi	pumaghi	

The subject-marking prefixes mark the same persons and numbers as are marked in the focal pronouns (cf. 3.2.1. below), with the addition of first person inclusive dual and first person exclusive dual, for which there are no corresponding focal pronominal forms. Certain subject + tense/aspect forms are bracketed together, indicating that modern Sie-speakers show some variation between the two forms involved.

Person and number prefixes. The marking of the person and number of the subject by prefixes to the verbs involves some complications: there are two distinct sets of person-marking prefixes, and the number-marking prefixes also exhibit some unusual features.

The two sets of prefixes marking person of subject are:

(30)	Set A	Set B
	'Subject Prefixes'	'Short Pronouns'
1 sg.	yag-	yau-
2 sg.	k-	ki-
3 sg.	g-	y-
1 inc. non-sg.	kok-	ko-
1 exc. non-sg.	kak-	ka-
2 pl.	k-	ki-
3 pl.	g-	d-

'Subject Prefixes' are distinguished from 'Short Pronouns' because of the much greater similarity of the latter to the focal pronouns (cf. 3.2.1. below). Set A subject prefixes are used with the more 'basic' tenses: general past, present, and future; Set B short pronouns are used with the mid and far past and the two conditional tenses. Note the identity of the second and third person singular and plural Set A forms, and the second person singular and plural Set B forms. Note also that the third person Set B forms have an allomorph \emptyset in the conditional.

Number prefixes. Singular is unmarked. Non-singular subjects are marked as follows:

(31)	u-	1st dual, 2nd and 3rd plural
	l-	1st plural

Thus the combination of person and number prefixes gives the following complex of markers for the non-singular Set A forms:

(32)	Dual	Plural
1 inc.	kok - u-	kok - l-
1 exc.	kak - u-	kak - l-
2nd		k - u-
3rd		g - u-

and a similar table can be drawn up for the Set B forms.

Imperative. Although both person and number prefixes are normally required, person prefixes are deleted in the imperative, which uses the base (oral form) of the verb root, and prefixes u- (with accompanying morphophonemic changes) in the plural:

(33)	Singular Imperative	Plural Imperative	
	oghi	ughi	<i>see</i>
	enwi	unwi	<i>say</i>
	tai	utai	<i>hit</i>
	aɣri	uaɣri	<i>cry</i>
	yevi	uyevi	<i>pull</i>

Tense/aspect prefixes. The different tense/aspects are marked as follows:

(34)	Tense/aspect	Marker	Form of Root
	General Past	Ø	oral
	Mid Past	m-	oral
	Far Past	m-..em-	oral
	Past Conditional	pe-	oral
	Future	Ø	nasal
	Present	am-	nasal
	Non-Past Conditional	pe-..am-	nasal

The conditional uses a prefix *pe-*, with the non-past conditional compounding this with the present prefix *am-*. The other complex tense marking is in the far past, which uses the mid past prefix *m-* plus a further prefix *em-*.

The order of the prefixes in the verb complex, and the various morpho-phonemic changes which take place, will be held over until section 2.1.4. below.

2.1.3. Other prefixes

In addition to prefixes marking person and number of the subject and tense/aspect, there is a number of other prefixes to the verb root in Sie. These are briefly discussed below.

Echo-subject prefix. The echo-subject prefix *m-* replaces the person prefix when a verb has the same subject as the previous verb in a sentence. The syntax of this marker will be discussed in detail in 6.2. below; at this stage, only one or two examples are necessary:

- (35) *narai y-agan m-tai retpo-n m-etni*
Narai 3SG:A-angry ES-kill wife-his ES-burn
Narai was angry and killed his wife and burned her
- narai m numpwat d-u-sau unwo m-u-velam m-u-ve empatap*
Narai and Numpwat 3PL:B-PL-come:out *Unwo* ES-PL-come ES-PL-go north
Narai and Numpwat came out (of the ground) at Unwo and came and then went north

Negative. The underlying form of the negative prefix is *tu-*, although it appears as *etu-* in the singular imperative. (However, there is a possibility that the *e-* in *etu-* may in fact be an old singular imperative marker.)⁶ Some examples of imperative forms are given below:

(36)	Singular imperative		Plural imperative		
	affirmative	negative	affirmative	negative	
	<i>oghi</i>	<i>etughi</i>	<i>ughi</i>	<i>utughi</i>	<i>see</i>
	<i>tai</i>	<i>etutai</i>	<i>utai</i>	<i>ututai</i>	<i>hit</i>
	<i>yevi</i>	<i>etuyevi</i>	<i>uyevi</i>	<i>utuyevi</i>	<i>pull</i>
	<i>aŋri</i>	<i>etuaŋri</i>	<i>uaŋri</i>	<i>utuaŋri</i>	<i>cry</i>
	<i>orŋi</i>	<i>eturŋi</i>	<i>urŋi</i>	<i>uturŋi</i>	<i>hear</i>

It will be seen from the above examples that, in the imperative, the negative prefix follows the marker of number of subject.

This is the case also in the indicative forms: the negative comes fairly late in the array of prefixes. For convenience, Table VII gives the negative paradigms which correspond to the affirmative paradigms of Table VI. No far past negative exists; the mid past negative is used to negate both mid past and far past verbs.

TABLE VII: Verbal paradigms: negative			
	General Past	Future	Present
1 sg.	yogotughi	yogotuaqhi	yogotumaqhi
2 sg.	kotughi	kotuaqhi	kotumaqhi
3 sg.	gotughi	gotuaqhi	gotumaqhi
1 inc.du.	kokutughi	kokutuaqhi	kokutumaghi
1 exc.du.	kakutughi	kakutuaqhi	kakutumaghi
1 inc.pl.	{ kokletughi koletughi	{ kokletuaqhi koletuaqhi	koletumlaghi
1 exc.pl.	{ kakletughi kaletughi	{ kakletuaqhi kaletuaqhi	kaletumlaghi
2 pl.	kutughi	kutuaqhi	kutumaghi
3 pl.	gutughi	gutuaqhi	gutumaghi
	Mid Past	Past Conditional	Non-Past Conditional
1 sg.	yaumetughi	yaupetughi	yaupetumaqhi
2 sg.	kimetughi	kipetughi	kipetumaqhi
3 sg.	yetughi	petughi	petumaqhi
1 inc.du.	komutughi	koputughi	koputumaghi
1 exc.du.	kamutughi	kaputughi	kaputumaghi
1 inc.pl.	komletughi	kopletughi	kopletumlaghi
1 exc.pl.	kamletughi	kapletughi	kapletumlaghi
2 pl.	kimutughi	kiputughi	kiputumaghi
3 pl.	dutughi	putughi	putumaqhi

Reflexive. There is a reflexive prefix *pen-* whose use is not as yet clearly understood. The form does not appear in Capell's MS, and I only elicited a few examples:

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (37) | yogo-pen-tai-yau
1SG:A-REFL-hit-me
<i>I hit myself</i> | yogo-pen-ogh-iyau
1SG:A-REFL-see-me
<i>I saw myself</i> |
| | go-pen-tai-Ø
3SG:A-REFL-hit-him
<i>He hit himself</i> | |

Other prefixes. A number of other prefixes are listed in Capell's MS. However, further analysis shows that these forms are really verbs, which participate in one of three constructions — verb serialisation, clause chaining with identical subjects (the second clause taking the echo-subject prefix *m-*), or verb + nominalised verb as object. Each of these types will be discussed in detail in the appropriate sections below.

2.1.4. Structure and morphophonemics of prefixes

We have no information on the position of the reflexive prefix in the verb, apart from what is obvious from the examples in (37) – that it follows the person prefixes. The discussion which follows is thus restricted to the person markers (including the echo-subject marker *m-*), number prefixes, tense/aspect prefixes, and the negative prefix.

The basic structure of verbal prefixes seems to be:

(38) subject + tense/aspect + number + negative

but there are a number of exceptions. We can first catalogue those tense/aspects which do follow this basic order:

General Past:	subject + number + negative
Future:	subject + number + negative
Mid Past:	subject + <i>m</i> + number + negative
Past Conditional:	subject + <i>pe</i> + number + negative

The remaining three tenses, however, show some variation. In particular, the number prefix *l-* (plural of first person) often appears in a different position from the number prefix *u-* (dual of first person, plural of non-first person). Further, the present tense/aspect prefix occurs in a different position from the other tense/aspect prefixes. The structure of these tense/aspects is:

Present:	subject + <i>u</i> + negative + <i>am</i> + <i>l</i>
Far Past:	subject + <i>m</i> + <i>u</i> + <i>em</i> + <i>l</i>
Non-Past Conditional:	subject + <i>pe</i> + <i>u/l</i> + negative + <i>am</i> + <i>l</i>

Note further that in the non-past conditional the plural marker for first person, *l-*, is repeated: it occurs once in the regular 'number' slot, and again following the non-past marker *am-*.

A considerable number of morphophonemic changes occur in verbs when prefixes are attached to verb roots; unfortunately, these have not been well enough studied for us to give a comprehensive account of their nature. The remarks below, therefore, must be considered as preliminary, and the morphophonemics of the verb is a subject that requires further study.⁷

- (a) The vowel-insertion rules discussed in section 1.6. can be seen to operate in a number of cases in verbal forms; that is, certain consonant clusters containing a velar consonant require the insertion of epenthetic /o/, and other clusters require the insertion of epenthetic /e/. Examples (from Tables VI and VII):

(39)	Underlying	Surface	
	ko-m-l-tu-ogh-i	komletughi	<i>we</i> (inc.) <i>didn't see (it)</i>
	g-tu-ogh-i	gotughi	<i>he didn't see (it)</i>
	k-tu-am-aḡh-i	kotumaḡhi	<i>you</i> (sg.) <i>don't see (it)</i>

The /o/ inserted by this rule has a 'spreading' effect. It spreads back to the vowel of the first person singular prefix *yag-*, changing this to *yog-* either when the verb itself is o-initial, or when /o/ has been inserted by regular rule:

(40)	<u>Underlying</u>	<u>Surface</u>	
	yag-ogh-i	yogoghi	<i>I saw (it)</i>
	yag-orŋ-i	yogorŋi	<i>I heard (it)</i>
	yag-tai	yogotai	<i>I hit (it)</i>
	yag-n-aŋri	yogonaŋri	<i>I will cry</i>
	yag-tu-ogh-i	yogotughi	<i>I didn't see (it)</i>

This spreading has a paradigmatic effect in the first person singular, such that verbs with initial /e/ change this to /o/, and this in turn effects the vowel of the prefix:

(41)	<u>Underlying</u>	<u>Surface</u>	
	yag-enwi	yogonwi	<i>I spoke</i>
	yag-eni	yogoni	<i>I ate</i>

This in turn spreads through the paradigm, such that in the general past of eni *eat*, for example, the verb appears as oni in those forms where it is immediately preceded by a velar (and also in the third person plural):

(42)	<u>Underlying</u>	<u>Surface</u>	
	yag-eni	yogoni	<i>I ate</i>
	k-eni	koni	<i>you (sg.) ate</i>
	g-eni	goni	<i>he/she ate</i>
	kok-u-eni	kokueni	<i>we (inc.du.) ate</i>
	kak-u-eni	kakueni	<i>we (exc.du.) ate</i>
	kok-l-eni	kokleni	<i>we (inc.pl.) ate</i>
	kak-l-eni	kakleni	<i>we (exc.pl.) ate</i>
	k-u-eni	kueni	<i>you (pl.) ate</i>
	g-u-eni	guoni	<i>they ate</i>

- (b) Vowel elision is common in the prefixes when two vowels come together. Specifically, the following changes take place:

i) verb-initial /o/ and the initial vowel of the prefixes am- 'present' and em- 'far past' are lost when preceded by the number-marker u- 'first person dual/non-first person plural' or the negative marker tu-; examples:

(43)	<u>Underlying</u>	<u>Surface</u>	
	g-u-ogh-i	gughi	<i>they saw (it)</i>
	k-tu-ogh-i	kotughi	<i>you (sg.) didn't see (it)</i>
	k-u-am-aŋh-i	kumaŋhi	<i>you (pl.) see (it)</i>
	g-tu-am-aŋh-i	gotumaŋhi	<i>he doesn't see (it)</i>
	ka-m-u-em-ogh-i	kamumoghi	<i>we (exc.du.) saw (it)</i>

ii) The present prefix am- loses the initial vowel when immediately preceded by the conditional prefix pe- in the non-past conditional:

(44)	<u>Underlying</u>	<u>Surface</u>	
	yau-pe-am-aŋh-i	yaupemaŋhi	<i>[if] I see (it)</i>
	ki-pe-am-aŋh-i	kipemaŋhi	<i>[if] you (sg.) see (it)</i>

In other environments, pe- becomes p- before a vowel:

- (45)
- | Underlying | Surface | |
|------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| ki-pe-u-am-aŋh-i | kipumaghi | <i>[if] you (pl.) see (it)</i> |
| yau-pe-ogh-i | yaupoghi | <i>[if] I saw (it)</i> |
- (c) Other morphophonemic changes affect individual person- or tense/aspect-markers:
- i) The third person singular and plural markers are lost before the conditional prefix *pe-*: cf. the past conditional *poghi* (sg.), *pughi* (pl.).
- ii) The mid past marker *m-* is lost in the third person singular and plural; this extends to the far past, which is normally marked by mid past *m-* + *em-*; examples:
- (46)
- | Underlying | Surface | |
|--------------|---------|----------------------|
| y-m-ogh-i | yoghi | <i>he saw (it)</i> |
| d-m-u-ogh-i | dughi | <i>they saw (it)</i> |
| y-m-em-ogh-i | yemoghi | <i>he saw (it)</i> |
- iii) The third person singular short pronoun *y-* appears as either *yi-* or *i-* before a consonant-initial root: thus underlying *y-tai* (from *y-m-tai*, 3SG:B-MP-*hit*) is either *itai* or *yitai*.
- iv) The combination of /k/ + /l/ in *kok-l* (1:INC.-PL) and *kak-l* (1:EXC.-PL) tends to be avoided, by dropping the /k/. The resultant *ko-l*, *ka-l* forms are being reinterpreted as person-markers *kol-*, *kal-*, as an examination of the present negative will show.

2.1.5. Object and transitive suffixes

Sie has two transitive suffixes: *-i* and *-ŋi* (which since most verb roots are consonant-final, appears as *-oŋi* by the regular insertion of epenthetic /o/ before the velar consonant /ŋ/). However, we do not have sufficient information to tell whether there is any semantic or syntactic difference between these two suffixes.⁸ Evidence from the few verbs which may be used both transitively and intransitively is inconclusive: *ogol dig* has a transitive *ogl-i*, while on the other hand *ametet fear* and *oruh wash* have transitive forms *amtit-oŋi* and *oruw-oŋi*. Verbs like *tavtavi grope* and *tampi converse* appear to have suffix *-i*, but they also occur with suffix *-ŋi*, as *tavoŋi grope after* and *tampiŋi tell*. This is one area where considerably more work needs to be done.

When the object of a verb is a noun, the transitive suffix appears on the verb:

- (47)
- | | | |
|--|----------|---------|
| yag-am-aŋkil-i | etm-en | |
| 1SG:S-PRES-IRR:know-TR <i>father-his</i> | | |
| <i>I know his father</i> | | |
| yog-orŋ-i | nompŋahi | enoŋkik |
| 1SG:A-hear-TR <i>pig</i> POSS:your:SG | | |
| <i>I heard your (sg.) pig</i> | | |
| g-amtit-oŋi | lui | |
| 3SG:A-fear-TR <i>Lui</i> | | |
| <i>He was frightened of Lui</i> | | |

When the object is a pronoun, however, free/focal pronouns are not used; instead, special object forms are suffixed to the verb. The basic forms of these object suffixes are:

(48)	Singular	Plural
1 inc.		-goh
1 exc.	-yau	-gam
2nd	-g	-gum
3rd	-i	-or

(Note therefore that the third person singular is marked by the transitive suffix, whereas the other persons are marked by individual suffixes; note also that the third person singular object form is \emptyset after a verb ending in /i/.) Normal vowel epenthesis occurs before consonant-initial suffixes (thus /o/ is inserted before g-initial suffixes); in addition, /i/ is optionally inserted between a root-final consonant and -yau *me*. The paradigm below illustrates the use of these suffixes:

(49)	Underlying	Surface	
	g-okil-yau	gokilyau ~ gokiliyau	<i>he knew me</i>
	g-okil-g	gokilog	<i>he knew you (sg.)</i>
	g-okil-i	gokili	<i>he knew him</i>
	g-okil-goh	gokilogoh	<i>he knew us (inc.)</i>
	g-okil-gam	gokilogam	<i>he knew us (exc.)</i>
	g-okil-gum	gokilogum	<i>he knew you (pl.)</i>
	g-okil-or	gokilor	<i>he knew them</i>

When the verb root itself ends in /ŋ/, g-initial suffixes become k-initial, and the second person suffix is dropped in favour of a form identical with the free form *kik*:

(50)	Underlying	Surface	
	g-orin-yau	gorin-yau ~ goriniyau	<i>he heard me</i>
	g-orin-g	gorinkik	<i>he heard you (sg.)</i>
	g-orin-i	gorŋi	<i>he heard him</i>
	g-orin-goh	gorinkoh	<i>he heard us (inc.)</i>
	g-orin-gam	gorinkam	<i>he heard us (exc.)</i>
	g-orin-gum	gorinkum	<i>he heard you (pl.)</i>
	g-orin-or	gorinor	<i>he heard them</i>

When the verb ends in the transitive suffix -ŋi, further changes occur: the sequence ŋ + g becomes ŋk, as above, but in the first person singular and third person plural, the ŋ of the suffix becomes g and, in addition, the third person plural suffix changes from -or to -od:

(51)	Underlying	Surface	
	g-taloŋ-yau	gotalogoyau	<i>he killed me</i>
	g-taloŋ-g	gotaloŋkik	<i>he killed you (sg.)</i>
	g-taloŋ-i	gotaloŋi	<i>he killed him</i>
	g-taloŋ-goh	gotaloŋkoh	<i>he killed us (inc.)</i>
	g-taloŋ-gam	gotaloŋkam	<i>he killed us (exc.)</i>
	g-taloŋ-gum	gotaloŋkum	<i>he killed you (pl.)</i>
	g-taloŋ-or	gotalogod	<i>he killed them</i>

Occasionally, the termination -ogoyau is shortened to -oyau under conditions that are not very clear at present: e.g. gamtitoyau *he was afraid of me*, from g-amtitoṅ-yau, for expected **gamtitogoyau.

Finally, Capell notes a suffix -amtoṅi indicating action against something, giving the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| (52) | sompat | <i>to close</i> | sompatamtoṅi | <i>to shut in, shut out</i> |
| | etur | <i>to stand</i> | eturamtoṅi | <i>to stand up against</i> |

2.1.6. Other suffixes

Other suffixes follow the pronoun object suffixes and, in general, follow the transitive suffixes as well. There are a number of groups of suffixes.

Perfective. The perfective suffix is -su, which is identical in form to the plural suffix to nouns (cf. section 3.1.1. below). Although most usually used with past tenses (and in particular the general past), it may be used also with the future, and with the present as a kind of stative. Examples:

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------|
| (53) | g-ogh-or-su | y-eni-su |
| | 3SG:A-see-them-PF | 3SG:B-eat-PF |
| | <i>He has seen them</i> | <i>He had eaten (it)</i> |
| | yag-aṅh-i-su penuri yag-aṅh-og | |
| | 1SG:A-IRR:see-TR-PF before 1SG:A-IRR:see-you:SG | |
| | <i>I will have seen him before I see you (sg.)</i> | |
| | yag-am-aṅh-i-su | |
| | 1SG:A-PRES-IRR:see-TR-PF | |
| | <i>I have already seen it (i.e. I know where it is)</i> | |

Directionals. Two directional suffixes, -sag upwards and -sep downwards, occur with verbs:

- | | | |
|------|---------|------------------|
| (54) | vai | <i>take</i> |
| | vai-sag | <i>take up</i> |
| | vai-sep | <i>take down</i> |

An interrogative directional suffix -ya *where?* is also found:

- | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| (55) | ki-m-ogh-or-ya? |
| | 2SG:B-MP-see-them-where |
| | <i>Where did you (sg.) see them?</i> |

Locative relative. A suffix -wi is used with anaphoric locative reference:

- | | |
|------|---|
| (56) | yag-am-aṅh-i-wi |
| | 1SG:A-PRES-IRR:see-him-LOCREL |
| | <i>I see him there; ... where I see him</i> |
| | y-etn-i-wi retpo-n |
| | 3SG:B-burn-TR-LOCREL wife-his |
| | <i>He burned his wife there; ... where he burned his wife</i> |

Other suffixes. Two other suffixes appear in Capell's MS grammar. One of these, -lap, indicates temporary action: Capell gives as examples such forms as ovoṅi-lap (*give-TMP*) *lend*, ete-lap-wi (*stay-TMP-INT*) *just stay a bit* and ko-l-aṅh-i-lap (1EXC:A-PL-IRR:see-TR-TMP) *let us (exc.) just see*.

The other suffix, -*no*, has a force which "is a little more difficult to define. Its main use is ? separative, disjunctive" (Capell MSa:62). Capell's examples include *ve-no* (*go-SEP*) *go off on one's own*, *velam-no* (*come-SEP*) *turn aside*, and *via-no* (*pass:away-SEP*) *pass away by itself*.

2.1.7. Verb serialisation

Verb serialisation plays an important part in Sie, but again this is an aspect which is at present poorly understood. A number of forms identified in Capell's grammar as verbal prefixes are in fact verbs, and some of these occur in series with a following verb (as opposed to occurring with a following verb with its own prefixes in a different clause). In addition, a causative-like construction is also formed by verb serialisation.

The forms identified by Capell as prefixes but which, it appears, are verbs appearing as the first member of a serial construction, are *ovum precede*, *tor* (with allomorphs *ror* and *gor*) *perform freely*, *morog temporarily assume a state*, and *vlu perform an action by coming and going*. Some examples from Capell's MS grammar:

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (57) | <i>g-ampum-ampelam</i> | <i>y-ovum-tor-ogoh</i> |
| | 3SG:A-IRR: <i>precede</i> -IRR: <i>come</i> | 3SG:B- <i>precede</i> - <i>lead-us</i> :INC |
| | <i>He will come first</i> | <i>He led us (inc.) first</i> |
| | <i>k-u-tor-vai</i> | <i>yi-morog-avan-lap</i> |
| | 2PL:A-PL- <i>perform</i> : <i>freely-receive</i> | 3SG:B- <i>temporary</i> : <i>state-walk</i> -TMP |
| | <i>You (pl.) have received freely</i> | <i>He advanced a little</i> |
| | <i>iror d-u-m-vlu-senti iyi ra lou</i> | |
| | <i>they</i> 3PL:B-PL-MP- <i>come</i> : <i>and</i> : <i>go-escort</i> <i>him</i> LOC <i>ship</i> | |
| | <i>They escorted him to the ship</i> | |

The causative construction uses a kind of verb serialisation, employing the verb *vi make* + pronoun object + verb. I have few examples of this construction, and Capell's examples tend to concentrate on the one verb 'save'. A description of the causative in Sie is complicated by a number of morpho-phonemic peculiarities:

1. Although the base of the first verb is *vi*, this form does not occur as a free form; the verb *make* in Sie is *ompi* (apparently the irrealis form of **vi*), but *ompi* has its own irrealis form *n-ompi*.
2. The form of the causative verb changes depending on both the tense and the following pronoun. Capell's MS gives the following list of forms:

<i>evi-</i>	before <i>yau me</i>
<i>am-</i>	before all except <i>-yau</i> , in future
<i>om-</i>	before second person, first person non-singular, past tense
<i>ov-</i>	before third person, past tense
3. The third person pronouns have special forms *-gor* (sg.) and *-goror* (pl.) in this construction.

Using the verb *eyowar save*, the following examples can be given:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|---|
| (58) | <i>g-am-evi-yau-eyowar</i> | <i>yag-am-kik-eyowar</i> |
| | 1SG:A-PRES-CAUS- <i>me-save</i> | 1SG:A-CAUS- <i>you</i> :SG- <i>save</i> |
| | <i>He saves me</i> | <i>I will save you (sg.)</i> |

This construction needs further study.

2.2. Verb phrase structure

Given the extraordinary complexity of the verb itself, it will come as a relief to know that the verb phrase is very simple in structure: basically, most verb phrases consist of a verb alone, but the verb may be followed within the phrase by adjectives or other adverbial elements. Very few examples of verb phrases like these have actually been elicited, largely because so much information expressed in other languages by adverbials can be incorporated into the verb itself in Sie. Only one or two examples of verb + adjective/adverbial will be given here:

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (59) | yag-am-n-omp-i armai
1SG:S-PRES-IRR- <i>do</i> -TR <i>good</i>
<i>I do it well</i> | g-omp-i ur
3SG:A- <i>do</i> -TR <i>bad</i>
<i>He did it badly</i> |
|------|--|---|

3. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY AND THE NOUN PHRASE

This section examines the structure of the noun phrase in Sie, and the morphological structure of elements which compose or appear in the noun phrase, including nouns themselves, pronouns, numerals, demonstratives, and adjectives. In addition, the grammar of possession and the structure of coordinate noun phrases will also be examined in this section.

3.1. Nouns

Over sixty percent of Sie nouns will be found in the accompanying vocabulary with initial n. This n was historically an article (deriving from Proto-Oceanic *na) which, however, has become fused with the noun in Sie, as indeed it has in the other languages of Southern Vanuatu. Thus fusion, then, means that noun-initial n is no longer analysable as an article; and although there is evidence that noun-initial i and u may also have functioned as articles at some stage, these have also fused with the following noun. There are thus no articles in Sie.⁹

3.1.1. Pluralisation

Three forms of the plural are possible for most nouns: a collective plural suffix -su, an indefinite plural prefix ovn- (becoming ov- before noun-initial n), and a definite plural marked by both the prefix ovn- and the suffix -su. Examples:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|
| (60) | nur
nur-su
ov-nur
ov-nur-su | (a) <i>place</i>
<i>every place, all places, everywhere</i>
<i>places</i>
<i>the places</i> |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|

Pluralising affixes are not used, however, when the plurality of the noun is marked in some other way in the noun phrase, as, for example, by a numeral:

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (61) | ovn-lou
PL- <i>canoe</i>
<i>Canoes</i> | lou duru
<i>canoe two</i>
<i>Two canoes</i> |
|------|--|---|

*ovn-lou duru
PL-canoe two

*ovn-lou-su duru
PL-canoe-PL two

Nouns which are kinship terms have a special plural formation, involving the suffixation of -me and the optional prefixation of r- (becoming re- before a consonant: see 1.6. above). Neither of us is aware of any semantic distinction carried by the presence or absence of r-. The examples below show noun roots with possessive pronominal suffixes (which are discussed in 3.6. below) and the plural affix:

- (62)
- | | |
|---------------|----------------------|
| itm-ed | <i>their father</i> |
| itm-ed-me | <i>their fathers</i> |
| r-itm-ed-me | <i>their fathers</i> |
| vevn-uŋ | <i>my sister</i> |
| vevn-uŋ-me | <i>my sisters</i> |
| re-vevn-uŋ-me | <i>my sisters</i> |

The noun *dinm-* mother is exceptional in allowing only the suffix -me but not the prefix r-:

- (63)
- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| dinm-ed | <i>their mother</i> |
| dinm-ed-me | <i>their mothers</i> |
| *re-dinm-ed-me | |

Although my own data suggest that the noun *nit-* child may not take this form of pluralisation at all, Capell's MS shows this noun used with suffix -me (though not with the prefix r-):

- (64)
- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| nit-ni | <i>his son</i> |
| nit-ni-me | <i>his sons</i> |
| *re-nit-ni-me | |

Other personal nouns show a number of irregular plural formations, generally involving loss of the fused article n and the prefixing of ov- (not ovn-); examples:

- (65)
- | | | |
|---------|--------------------|----------|
| neteme | <i>man</i> | ovateme |
| nahiven | <i>woman</i> | ovahiven |
| nalau | <i>child</i> | ovalau |
| nalalau | <i>young child</i> | ovalalau |

3.1.2. Formation

A verb or adjective may be nominalised by prefixing n- (c.f. the discussion regarding noun-initial n above). Examples:

- (66)
- | | | | |
|--------|--------------------|----------|------------------------|
| avan | <i>to walk</i> | n-avan | <i>a walk, walking</i> |
| omurep | <i>to be alive</i> | n-omurep | <i>life</i> |

Instrumental nouns are formed by prefixing wor- to verbs:

- (67)
- | | | |
|----------|------------|--|
| wor-oghi | (INS-see) | <i>something for seeing, telescope</i> |
| wor-avan | (INS-walk) | <i>shoes</i> |
| wor-tai | (INS-hit) | <i>something for hitting</i> |
| wor-eiti | (INS-tie) | <i>a bond</i> |

A possible change in progress is loss of initial /w/:

- (68)
- | | | |
|----------|--------------|-----------------|
| or-ahuwo | (INS-paddle) | <i>a paddle</i> |
|----------|--------------|-----------------|

A number of other nouns with initial *or-* have been recorded, but thus far no corresponding verb has been elicited: *oretete broom*, *orisampuwi comb*, *orsentu crutch*, *ortamprag pillow*.

3.2. Pronouns

Two major pronoun types may be recognised in Sie: personal and interrogative. Members of other word-classes (especially numerals and demonstratives) may often function pronominally, as the result of the deletion of the head noun of a noun phrase in a particular context, but these are specialised uses and will not be discussed here. This section concentrates on the pronouns proper.

3.2.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns occur in Sie in a number of forms. Suffixes marking the person and number of the possessor will be discussed in section 3.6. below; prefixes marking (inter alia) person and number of the subject, and suffixes marking person and number of the object, were discussed in connection with other aspects of verbal morphology in section 2. We are thus concerned here with the free or 'focal' pronouns only.

The focal pronouns in Sie may function as the sole constituent of a noun phrase subject, or a disjunctive noun phrase. As subject, they are optional, since person and number of the subject are also marked, obligatorily, by verbal prefixes. When they do occur in this position, they are emphatic, as the following examples illustrate:

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (69) | yog-ogh-i
1SG:A-see-TR
<i>I saw it</i> | yau yog-ogh-i
I 1SG:A-see-TR
<i>I saw it, It was me who saw it</i> |
|------|--|--|

The focal pronouns in Sie distinguish singular and plural numbers and, within the plural, distinguish inclusive and exclusive first person. The focal pronouns are:

(70)	Singular	Plural
1 inc.		koh
1 exc.	yau	kam
2nd	kik	kimi
3rd	iyi	iror

Unlike the languages of Tanna and Aneityum, no dual or trial pronoun forms occur. The plural pronouns may be followed by a numeral – e.g. *koh duru we two* (inc.), *iror dehel they three* – but these forms are not distinct pronouns, merely pronoun followed by numeral in exactly the same way as their English translations.¹⁰

Like nouns, focal pronouns may take the collective plural suffix *-su* (though not the plural prefix *ovn-*). Compare *kimi you* (pl.) with *kimi-su all of you*.

There are no reflexive pronoun forms as such. Reflexive constructions are usually encoded (a) by the verbal prefix *pen-* (cf. 2.1.3. above) or (b) by using subject prefixes and object suffixes of the same person and number, as in:

- (71) yau yog-ogh-iyau
 I 1SG:A-see-me
 I saw myself

A reflexive sense, probably emphatic, is also apparently conveyed by the use of the particle *pe* between repeated forms of the focal pronoun, as in *yau pe yau I myself*. Unfortunately, there are no clear examples of this usage in Capell's MS, and I did not encounter it in my own work.

3.2.2. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are *me who?* and *se what?*. The pronoun *me* functions, without any formal change, as subject, object, and possessive:

- (72) me g-ogh-ogoh? k-ogh-i me?
 who 3SG:A-see-us:INC 2SG:A-see-TR *who*
 Who saw us (inc.)? *Whom did you (sg.) see?*
- nimo en me?
 house POSS who
 Whose house?

Capell gives a form *me-e-me* for the plural of *me*, as well as forms *wa-me* (singular), *wa-me-e-me* (plural) meaning *who of us?*.

The interrogative *se what?* was apparently originally *tie* (or *sie*). Again, it is used in all grammatical contexts without formal change:

- (73) se mah? se g-am-n-omp-i?
 what PREF *what* 3SG:A-PRES-IRR-do-TR
 What is that? *What is he doing?*

No plural form is known. Capell gives a form *mu(n)tie what else?*, which would presumably be *muse* or *munse* if indeed it still occurs in the language.

3.3. Demonstratives

Capell's and my data disagree on the position of the demonstratives within the noun phrase, as will become clear below. There is also not complete agreement between us on the forms of the demonstratives. However, it seems safe to say that at least the following can be recognised:

- (74) iyimo ~ imo *this, near speaker*
 iyihi *this, here, near speaker*
 mori nimpe *this/that, near addressee*
 iyuwi *that, at some distance*
 iyempe *that, yonder*
 mah *this/that, previously referred to, given information*
 mori *this/that, previously referred to, given information*

Examples:

- (75) nimo iyimo ov-nimo iyimo
 house this PL-house *this*
 This house *These houses*

nvat mori nimpe
stone that just:there
That stone (near you)

neteme iyempe
man that
That man

The demonstratives mah and mori produce a certain amount of confusion. Capell does not list mah, although he does give a form ima *that* which I think is the same form. On the other hand, I have only found mori used in the role of relative pronoun (cf. 6.1.2.), which is only one of the roles Capell assigns to it. Capell does not illustrate mori in its purely demonstrative use, so we cannot give examples of that form. Examples of mah from my own data are given below:

- (76) nimo mah
house PREF
This house (i.e. the one you know I'm going to)
- neteme mah
man PREF
That man (you know who I'm talking about)
- se mah?
what PREF
What is that? What about it?

3.4. Numerals and quantifiers

3.4.1. Numerals

Sie possesses an imperfect decimal system, with the numerals 'seven' to 'nine' being formed by compounds on the base sukrim *five*, but with separate forms for 'six' and 'ten'. The basic numerals are:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (77) | hai ~ sai | <i>one</i> | mehkai | <i>six</i> |
| | duru | <i>two</i> | sukrim-duru | <i>seven</i> |
| | dehel | <i>three</i> | sukrim-dehel | <i>eight</i> |
| | dvat | <i>four</i> | sukrim-dvat | <i>nine</i> |
| | sukrim | <i>five</i> | narwolem | <i>ten</i> |

Numerals between 11 and 19 are formed with the linking particle tavoqi, which may be the verb tavoqi *to grope for*. Examples:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|----|
| (78) | narwolem-tavoqi-hai | 11 |
| | narwolem-tavoqi-sukrim-dvat | 19 |

Numerals above 20 are formed by narwolem + numeral, as narwolem duru for 20, narwolem dehel for 30, etc.

In addition to the form hai ~ sai for *one*, two other forms should be noted: haimo is used for *one* only in counting; haiteven is *one* and only *one*.

The forms in (77) show what appears to be a prefix d- to the numerals two, three and four. This prefix also occurs on the interrogative quantifier deve ~ dve *how many/much?*, and may well be historically related to the third person plural (Set B) verbal subject prefix.¹¹

Apart from a special form ra novum *first*, the ordinals are formed by suffixing -oqi (probably the transitive suffix) to the cardinal forms, e.g.:

- | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| (79) | dur-oŋi | <i>second</i> (note vowel deletion) |
| | dehel-oŋi | <i>third</i> |
| | dvat-oŋi | <i>fourth</i> |

A distributive suffix -ŋo may be added to the cardinal numerals, and also to the interrogative deve:

- | | | |
|------|---------|--------------------------|
| (80) | duru-ŋo | <i>two of each</i> |
| | deve-ŋo | <i>how many of each?</i> |

3.4.2. Quantifiers

The interrogative quantifier deve *how many/much?*, with its alternative form dve, has already been mentioned in 3.4.1. above. Its use is illustrated below:

- (81) talnevie deve k-am-aŋkil-i n-ogh-i?
taro how:much 2SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-TR NOM-see-TR
How much taro can you (sg.) see?
- deve lou?
how:much canoe
How many canoes?

Other quantifiers are:

- | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------------|
| (82) | ovon | <i>all</i> |
| | omwisu | <i>all</i> |
| | tamah | <i>many</i> |
| | oroŋ-tou | <i>many</i> |
| | noŋkon | <i>some</i> |
| | tawi-oroŋ-veh | <i>few</i> |
| | ton-tamah | <i>few</i> |
| | tawi | <i>no, none</i> |

3.5. Adjectives

Adjectives in Sie generally follow the noun they qualify (as in nimo virog (*house small*) *a small house*). Unlike other languages of Southern Vanuatu, where adjectives may take verbal prefixes or particles and, in some cases, are often difficult to distinguish from verbs, Sie adjectives form a distinct class, and may not take verbal affixes. There are, however, three aspects of the morphology of adjectives which require discussion.

Pluralisation of adjectives is optional in noun phrases, as such phrases as ov-nimo virog (PL-*house small*) *small house* have been recorded. An adjective may be pluralised, however, by

- the suffix -ŋo, which reduces to -o after a root ending in ŋ;
- the prefix ovn-, becoming ov- before n and o- before v;
- a combination of ovn- and -ŋo.

Examples:

(83)	Singular		Plural		
	potgon	<i>short</i>	potgon-ŋo,	ovn-potgon,	ovn-potgon-ŋo
	agumsu	<i>black</i>	agumsu-ŋo,	ovn-agumsu,	ovn-agumsu-ŋo
	virog	<i>small</i>	virog-ŋo,	o-virog,	o-virog-ŋo
	oroŋ	<i>big</i>	oroŋ-o,	ovn-oroŋ,	ovn-oroŋ-o

One exception to these rules is the following:

(84)	metetalam	<i>old</i>	ovotetalam-ŋo
------	-----------	------------	---------------

Examples:

(85)	ov-nimo oroŋ	}	<i>big house</i>
	ov-nimo oroŋ-o		
	ov-nimo ovn-oroŋ		
	ov-nimo ovn-oroŋ-o		

We do not know what semantic difference there is, if any, between the various forms of the plural.

The second point which requires discussion is the prefix *it-*. We are unable to give a clear meaning for this prefix, which often occurs on adjectives both in citation forms and in text. The following examples, however, give some clues:

(86)	virog	<i>small</i>	it-virog	<i>younger child, father's brother</i>
	nom	<i>quick</i>	it-nom	<i>speed</i>

This prefix is also found changing nouns into adjectives:

(87)	natman	<i>man</i>	it-natman	<i>male</i>
	nahiven	<i>woman</i>	it-nahiven	<i>female</i>

Historically, this prefix *it-* seems to be related to the adjectival prefixes *ir-*, *il-* in Lenakel and South-west Tanna respectively. In those languages, the prefix serves an identificatory function, as in Lenakel *owas old*, *ir-owas the old one*; *vi new*, *ir-vi the new one*; etc. (cf. Lynch 1978b, 1982b). The problem in Sie appears to be that a number of adjectives have fused this prefix, such that the root no longer seems to occur freely; for example, we can identify the adjectives *itvau new* and *itronko straight*, but no corresponding forms **vau* and **ronko*.

The third point concerns a prefix *n-*, probably the nominalising prefix (cf. 3.1.2. above). Most adjectives, or at least most vowel-initial adjectives, are given in citation form with initial *n*, and this *n* is sometimes retained when adjectives are used in noun phrases:

(88)	kuri agumsu	or	kuri n-agumsu
	<i>dog black</i>		<i>dog NOM?-black</i>
	<i>A black dog</i>		

Comparison of adjectives uses the form *momu more* placed before the adjective, with the locative preposition *ra* (*ira-* before a pronoun suffix) translating *than*:

- (89) momu armai ira-n
more good LOC-3SG
Better than it

A superlative sense is conveyed by placing the adverb wogon *only* or idowi *always* after momu + adjective; no data is at hand on the marking of the following prepositional phrase.

3.6. Possession

As in most languages of Oceania, the grammar of possession is not simple. The alienable/inalienable distinction, so common in Melanesia, is found also in Sie. Sie does not, however, show the same kind of complexity of alienable possessive structures as do other Oceanic languages, although the Sie system does show evidence of apparent dialect-mixture, or even of influence from the extinct Sorung. Like other Melanesian languages, Sie shows suffixation of pronominal forms directly to nouns in inalienable constructions, and suffixation of these pronominal forms to possessive morphemes in alienable constructions. Possession of nouns by nouns is handled somewhat differently, and it will be convenient to divide this treatment of possession into two sections, concerned respectively with pronoun and noun possessors. When the basic grammar of possession has been discussed, we will then examine the complex morphophonemic changes involved.

3.6.1. Pronominal possession

Inalienable. Inalienable possession of a noun by a pronoun requires the suffixation to the noun of special pronominal forms. These forms are:

(90)	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 inc.		-nt
1 exc.	-ŋ	-mam
2nd	-m	-mi
3rd	-n	-d

These forms are illustrated in the following possessive paradigm of the noun noru- *hand*:

(91)	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 inc.		noru-nt
1 exc.	noru-ŋ	noru-mam
2nd	noru-m	noru-mi
3rd	noru-n	noru-d

Alienable. Alienable possession of a noun by a pronoun requires the suffixation of pronominal forms to a possessive morpheme, this compound following the noun. Unlike the other non-Polynesian languages of Southern Vanuatu, Sie does not distinguish between eating, drinking, and general alienable possessive subtypes.¹² It does, however, show two distinct possessive morphemes which, as far as we are able to tell, are in free variation with each other, at least as far as pronominal possession is concerned. One is the form hor- (with an allomorph ihe- in the third person), which takes the suffixes in (90) above,

(with certain vowel additions when the suffix is a single consonant); the other is the morpheme *en-*, which takes suffixes which are closer in form to object suffixes to verbs. The forms of each are:

(92)	Singular		Plural	
1 inc.			horent	enoḡkoh
1 exc.	horuḡ	eniau	hormam	enoḡkam
2nd	horom	enoḡkik	horim	enoḡkimi
3rd	ihen	eni	ihed	eniror

As noted above, these forms follow the possessed nouns in alienable possessive constructions; examples:

(93)	nimo horuḡ	}	<i>my house</i>	lou ihed	}	<i>their canoe</i>
	nimo eniau			lou eniror		

3.6.2. Nominal possession

Inalienable. When a noun is possessed inalienably by another noun, the possessed noun takes the third person pronominal suffix corresponding in number to the possessor noun; the order of elements is possessed + possessor. Examples:

(94)	noru-n neteme	ov-noru-d ovateme
	<i>hand-his man</i>	PL- <i>hand-their</i> PL: <i>man</i>
	<i>The man's hand</i>	<i>The men's hands</i>

Alienable. Alienable possessive constructions also show the order possessed + possessor. In these constructions, however, the two nouns are linked by the possessive particle *en*.¹³ Examples:

(95)	nimo en neteme	ovn-lou en ovateme
	<i>house POSS man</i>	PL- <i>canoe POSS</i> PL: <i>man</i>
	<i>The man's house</i>	<i>The men's canoes</i>

Neither Capell's nor my data show any particle corresponding to the *horuḡ* or *ihen* forms of the pronominal possessive being used in nominal constructions in Sie.

3.6.3. Morphophonemics and irregularities

A number of morphophonemic changes take place when certain of the suffixes, which are consonant-initial, are attached to noun or possessive-morpheme roots which are consonant-final. This section deals with those changes, and also with certain other irregularities in possessive forms in Sie.

Regular morphophonemic changes. There are a number of regular morphophonemic changes which take place in the context of the suffixation of pronominal forms to nominal or possessive bases. These are detailed below.

(a) Regular vowel insertion.

In section 1.6. above, we noted that there is a regular vowel-insertion rule in Sie by which /e/ (or /o/ if one of the consonants is a velar) is inserted between two members of an unacceptable consonant cluster. Two such unacceptable clusters in Sie are final CC and final Cnt; in each case, a vowel must be inserted after the first C of the cluster. Thus possessive suffixes like

-ŋ '1SG', -m '2SG', -n '3SG', -nt '1INC:PL', and -d '3PL' would require that such a vowel be inserted after a consonant-final root. In the case of the last three of the suffixes mentioned above, this is what in fact happens:

(96)	Underlying	Surface	
	etm-n	etmen	<i>his father</i>
	dinm-d	dinmed	<i>their mother</i>
	neluam-nt	neluament	<i>our (inc.) tongues</i>

The suffixes -ŋ '1SG' and -m '2SG', however, do not behave regularly as far as this vowel insertion is concerned. The normal expectation would be for /e/ to be inserted before -m and for /o/ to be inserted before the velar -ŋ. In fact, the vowels so inserted are /u/ before -ŋ and /o/ before -m. Examples:

(97)	Underlying	Surface	
	vevn-	vevnuŋ	<i>my sister</i>
	nit-	nituŋ	<i>my child</i>
	nimt-	nimtuŋ	<i>my eye</i>
	vevn-m	vevnom	<i>your (sg.) sister</i>
	nit-m	nitom	<i>your (sg.) child</i>
	nimt-m	nimtom	<i>your (sg.) eye</i>

(b) /n/-final roots

Roots which end in /n/ lose this /n/ before any suffix which begins either with /n/ or a prenasalised stop (with initial phonetic [n] – i.e. before -n '3SG', -nt '1INC:PL', and -d '3PL'. The examples below show the first and second persons singular as 'control' forms, and then the affected forms.

(98)	Underlying	Surface	
	vevn-ŋ	vevnuŋ	<i>my sister</i>
	vevn-m	vevnom	<i>your (sg.) sister</i>
	vevn-n	veven	<i>his sister</i>
	vevn-nt	vevent	<i>our (inc.) sister</i>
	vevn-d	veved	<i>their sister</i>
	man-ŋ	manuŋ	<i>my brother</i>
	man-m	manom	<i>your (sg.) brother</i>
	man-n	man	<i>her brother</i>
	man-nt	mant	<i>our (inc.) brother</i>
	man-d	mad	<i>their brother</i>

(c) /v/-final roots

Roots which end in /v/ change this /v/ to /p/ before any suffix which begins with /m/ – i.e. before -m '2SG', -mam '1EXC:PL', and -mi '2PL'. In this environment, the second person singular suffix -m has an allomorph -mu. Examples are given below, with the first and third singular forms as 'controls'.¹⁵

(99)	Underlying	Surface	
	nogv-ŋ	nogvuŋ	<i>my hand</i>
	nogv-n	nogven	<i>his hand</i>
	nogv-m	nogopmu	<i>your (sg.) hand</i>
	nogv-mam	nogopmam	<i>our (exc.) hands</i>
	nogv-mi	nogopmi	<i>your (pl.) hands</i>

Underlying	Surface	
av-ŋ-hai	avunhai	<i>my brother</i>
av-n-hai	avenhai	<i>his brother</i>
av-m-hai	apmuhai	<i>your (sg.) brother</i>
av-mam-hai	apmamhai	<i>our (exc.) brother</i>
av-mi-hai	apmihai	<i>their brother</i>

(d) /m/-final roots

Roots which end in /m/ lose this /m/ before a suffix beginning with /m/.

Examples:

(100)	Underlying	Surface	
	etm-d	etmed	<i>their father</i>
	etm-m	etom	<i>your (sg.) father</i>
	etm-mam	etmam	<i>our (exc.) father</i>
	etm-mi	etmi	<i>your (pl.) father</i>
	dinm-d	dinmed	<i>their mother</i>
	dinm-m	dinom	<i>your (sg.) mother</i>
	dinm-mam	dinmam	<i>our (exc.) mother</i>
	dinm-mi	dinmi	<i>your (pl.) mother</i>

(e) /t/-final roots

Two noun roots, whose underlying forms are nit- *child* and nimt- *eye*, show a number of irregularities, and the full paradigms are quoted here:

(101)	nit- <i>child</i>	nimt- <i>eye</i>
1 sg.	nitug	nimtug
2 sg.	nitom	nimtom
3 sg.	nitni	nipmi
1 inc.pl.	nitnint	nimint
1 exc.pl.	nitnomam	nimtomam
2 pl.	nitmi	nimtomi ~ nimetmi
3 pl.	nitnid	nimid

These forms show a number of irregularities, but one area of consistency is the third person singular allomorph -ni. Thus nit- + -n > nitni, and nimt- + -n probably went first to **nimtni, with later assimilatory and other changes giving nipmi.

Irregularities. Certain irregularities were alluded to immediately above, in the paradigms for nit- *child* and nimt- *eye*: in both forms, note particularly the intrusive /o/ (for expected /e/) in the first exclusive plural; with nit-, there is an intrusive /n/ in all plural forms except the second person; with nimt-, there is loss of /t/ in the first inclusive and third persons, and variable forms for the second person plural. Some other irregularities are:

a) The forms etm- *father* and dinm- *mother* show irregular vocative-like forms for the first person singular possessed form. Instead of the expected **etmug and **dinmug, the forms nate *my father* and namou *my mother* are used, not only as address terms, but also as reference terms.

b) The noun dinm- *mother* shows an irregular third person singular form dinme (for expected **dinmen).

c) The noun mogop- *grandchild* shows an irregular second person singular form mogum (for expected **mogopom, or perhaps **mogopmu).

d) The noun 'tongue' shows apparent morphological conditioning of the root. The forms are:

(102)	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 inc.		neluament
1 exc.	neluapmuḡ	neluapmam
2nd	neluapmu	neluapmi
3rd	neluamen	neluamed

The third singular, first inclusive, and third plural forms suggest a root *neluam-*. The two second person forms and the first inclusive form would be consistent with roots of the form *neluap-*, *neluapm-*, or *neluav-*. The first singular form suggests a root *neluapm-*.

Full paradigms are not available for a great number of nouns. The number of irregular forms may indeed be greater than given here, and other morpho-phonemic processes may also be operating. Again, further research is necessary in this area of Sie grammar.

3.7. Noun phrase structure

A number of statements regarding the structure of the noun phrase have already been made in connection with the various word classes discussed above, and quite a few examples of noun phrases of various types have already been given. This section discusses in more detail the structure of the noun phrase in Sie.

As was mentioned in connection with the discussion on demonstratives above (section 3.3.), Capell's and my data disagree on the position of the demonstratives within the noun phrase: Capell states that the demonstratives usually precede the noun they qualify, whereas my data show demonstratives following the noun. Thus Capell has phrases like *imo neteme* (*this man*) *this man*, *ima nei* (*that tree*) *that tree*, whereas I have phrases like *neteme imo* (*man that*) *that man*, *nei mah* (*tree that*) *that tree*. Since I am using examples largely from my own data in this sketch, I will follow the analysis I have proposed; the reader should, however, be aware of the conflict involved.

Generally, the head noun of the noun phrase is the first element in the phrase, with demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, and possessives following the noun. There are, however, a few cases of such items preceding the head noun of a noun phrase. These are:

(a) *hai*, the numeral *one*, which is also used to mark indefiniteness, as in:

(103) *hai neteme go-velam*
one man 3SG:A-come
A man came

(b) *deve* (or *dve*), the interrogative quantifier *how much?*, *how many?* may optionally precede the noun:

(104) *deve lou k-am-aḡkil-i n-ogh-i?*
how:many canoe 2SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-TR NOM-see-TR
How many canoes can you (sg.) see?

lou deve k-am-aḡkil-i n-ogh-i?
canoe how:many 2SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-TR NOM-see-TR
How many canoes can you (sg.) see?

4. OTHER PHRASES

This section examines other kinds of phrases which may appear in Sie clauses — locative phrases, temporal phrases, and so on. Since many of these phrases are noun phrases introduced by prepositions, we begin this section with an examination of the morphology of the Sie prepositions.

4.1. Prepositions

On the basis of their behaviour with a following pronoun, Sie prepositions fall into three morphological classes: those which take a possessive suffix, those which take an objective pronominal suffix, and those which take no suffix.

4.1.1. Prepositions taking possessive suffixes

A number of Sie prepositions take pronominal possessive suffixes when the noun phrase which follows consists of a pronoun. These prepositions are listed below:

(109)	ra, ira-	locative, causative
	nisgo-	benefactive
	nimsi-	benefactive
	netriho-	<i>behind (a long way)</i>
	nogori-	<i>near, between</i>

The last four forms take the appropriate possessive suffix when the goal is a pronoun, and take a third person possessive suffix of the appropriate number when the goal is a noun phrase. Examples:

(110)	ompi nisgo-nt	armai nimsi-n n-eni
	<i>do BENF-our:INC</i>	<i>good BENF-its NOM-eat</i>
	<i>Do it for us (inc.)</i>	<i>Good for eating</i>
	netriho-n nimo	nogori-n iyi
	<i>far:behind-its house</i>	<i>near-his he</i>
	<i>A long way behind the house</i>	<i>Near him</i>

The remaining preposition in this group occurs as *ra* (*rai* with some speakers) before non-pronouns:

(111)	go-vai ra nimo	yag-ampe rai stoa
	<i>3SG:A-take LOC house</i>	<i>1SG:A-IRR:go LOC store</i>
	<i>He took it from the house</i>	<i>I'll go to the store</i>

With a following pronoun, however, the form of the preposition to which possessive suffixes are attached is *ira-*:

(112)	mampung ira-ŋ	yag-ampe ira-n
	<i>front LOC-my</i>	<i>1SG:A-IRR:go LOC-his/its</i>
	<i>In front of me</i>	<i>I'll go to it/him</i>

4.1.2. Prepositions taking object suffixes

Three prepositions take objective pronominal suffixes when their goal is a pronoun:

- (113)
- | | |
|---------|---------------------|
| qi, oqi | instrumental |
| towoni | privative (animate) |
| poqi | dative |

The forms used with noun phrase goals are qi, towoni, and poq or poqi respectively:

- (114)
- yag-am-adv-i nei qi nake
 1SG:A-PRES-IRR:cut-TR tree INS axe
I am cutting the tree with an axe
- go-vai towoni etm-en
 3SG:A-take PRIV father-his
He took it from his father
- yag-am-n-am poq(i) av-uq
 1SG:A-PRES-IRR-talk DAT friend-my
I am talking to my friend

When the goal of these prepositions is a pronoun, however, they take object suffixes. The actual forms are:

- (115)
- | | <u>Instrumental</u> | <u>Privative</u> | <u>Dative</u> |
|-----------|---------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1 sg. | wogoyau | towoniyau | poyau |
| 2 sg. | woqkik | tomnog | ponog |
| 3 sg. | oqi | towoni | poqi |
| 1 inc.pl. | woqkoh | towonogoh | poqkoh |
| 1 exc.pl. | woqkam | towonogam | poqkam |
| 2 pl. | woqkum | towonogum | poqkum |
| 3 pl. | wonor | tomnor | ponor |

Examples:

- (116)
- y-em-tai-yau qi teligomti mori y-em-tai av-en-hai oqi
 3SG:B-FP-hit-me INS club REL 3SG:B-FP-hit his:brother INS:it
He hit me with the club he hit his brother with
- g-ampai tomnog enwi poqkam
 3SG:A-IRR:take PRIV:you:SG tell DAT:us:EXC
He will take it from you (sg.) Tell us

Capell also gives maroqi *from*, but this is probably a verb.

4.1.3. Prepositions without suffixes

Other prepositions apparently either cannot govern a pronominal goal or, if they do, do not take a pronominal suffix. These are:¹⁶

- (117)
- | | |
|---------|-------------------|
| ilat | <i>outside</i> |
| unisoq | <i>inside</i> |
| du, dal | <i>comitative</i> |
| potpot | <i>near</i> |
| isut | <i>far from</i> |
| hogkuse | <i>like, as</i> |
| taqkau | <i>opposite</i> |

Examples:

(118)	potpot nimo <i>near house</i> <i>Near the house</i>	unisoꝋ nimo <i>inside house</i> <i>Inside the house</i>
	potpot kik <i>near you:SG</i> <i>Near you (sg.)</i>	du yau COM I <i>With me</i>
	hoꝋkuse veven <i>like sister:his</i> <i>Like his sister</i>	

4.2. Locative phrases

Locative phrases are of two basic structural types: those which are introduced by a preposition, and those which are unmarked. We will examine the latter type first.

4.2.1. Locational noun phrases

Locative phrases which occur without an introductory preposition are noun phrases of a special type: they contain as the head noun either the name of a place or a locational noun such as iꝋko *here*. Examples:

(119)	yi-velam iꝋko 3SG:B-come <i>here</i> <i>He came here</i>	yi-ve empag 3SG:B-go <i>south</i> <i>He went south</i>
	yag-ampe vila 1SG:A-IRR:go <i>Vila</i> <i>I will go to Vila</i>	

Locational nouns may be divided for convenience into a number of groups. First, there are the demonstrative locatives:

(120)	iꝋko, iyihi	<i>here</i>
	nimpe	<i>just there</i>
	iyuwi	<i>there (nearby)</i>
	ilampe	<i>over there</i>
	iyempe	<i>there (away)</i>
	mayu, mayuwi	<i>there</i>
	empelamp	<i>there</i>
	iya	<i>where?</i>

Names for compass points also function as locational nouns:

(121)	empatap	<i>north(wards)</i>
	empag	<i>south(wards)</i>
	unelogompne	<i>west(wards)</i>
	unug	<i>east(wards)</i>

There are a number of locationals with an apparent prefix u-:

(122)	uneai	<i>in the sky</i>
	untompoi	<i>in the bush</i>
	unavonavo	<i>in the garden</i>
	unmap	<i>below</i>
	untopavo	<i>in the bush</i>
	unisoŋ	<i>inside</i>

and others with an apparent prefix *ra-* or *rat-*, which may be the locative preposition:

(123)	rategompe	<i>beyond</i>
	ratelvo	<i>outwards</i>
	rategomeyep	<i>to the bottom</i>
	ratilat	<i>to the outside</i>
	ratunisoŋ	<i>inside</i>
	rategomesag	<i>upwards</i>

Other locational nouns, which do not fit into any of the groups given above, include:

(124)	potpot	<i>near, nearby</i>
	potgon	<i>near, nearby</i>
	isut	<i>far</i>
	pelag	<i>out, away</i>
	ilat	<i>outside</i>
	imeluo	<i>above</i>
	kitan	<i>behind, backwards</i>
	iluvau	<i>in the desert</i>

We could also note here a place-name prefix *pot-*. A number of these names are listed in Tryon and Gély (1979); we might instance here Potnarvin (cf. narvin *sand*), Potlusi, Potnuma, and Potnumla.

4.2.2. Preposition + noun phrase

Other locative phrases are introduced by prepositions, as some of the examples in section 4.1. above showed. The most common of these prepositions is *ra/rai/ira-*, which has both locative and directional force (depending on the semantics of the verb of the clause):

- (125) neteme yi-ve ra lou du yau
man 3SG:B-go LOC canoe COM I
The man went in a canoe with me
- nate g-am-ade ra denug
my:father 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:stay LOC garden
My father is (staying) in the garden
- yag-am-ampe ra nimo
1SG:A-PRES-IRR:go LOC house
I am going home
- yi-vai ra nimo
3SG:B-take LOC house
He took it from the house

In addition, *ra* is used with a wide range of nouns to form what have been called in other Oceanic languages 'compound prepositions' — forms translating such English prepositions as 'under', 'above', 'beside', and so on. Morphologically, such compounds are of two types: *ra* + noun, and noun + *ra*. The former type is exemplified by the following:

- | | | |
|-------|------------------|---------------------|
| (126) | <i>ra nta-</i> | <i>behind</i> |
| | <i>ra noŋu-</i> | <i>in front of</i> |
| | <i>ra nompu-</i> | <i>on top of</i> |
| | <i>ra netgo-</i> | <i>under(neath)</i> |
| | <i>ra mompo-</i> | <i>under(neath)</i> |

For example:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (127) | <i>g-ote ra nta-ŋ</i> | <i>iyi ra nompu-n nimo</i> |
| | 3SG:A-stand LOC back-my | he LOC top-its house |
| | <i>He stood behind me</i> | <i>He is on top of the house</i> |

The other type, noun + *ra*, includes a number of unaffixable prepositions which optionally take a following *ra*, as well as some other nouns:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (128) | <i>potpot (ra)</i> | <i>near</i> |
| | <i>isut (ra)</i> | <i>far from</i> |
| | <i>mampum (ra)</i> | <i>in front of</i> |

For example:

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (129) | <i>tog isut (ra) nimo</i> | |
| | <i>sea far (LOC) house</i> | |
| | <i>The sea is a long way from the house</i> | |
| | <i>iyi potpot iau or iyi potpot ira-ŋ</i> | |
| | <i>he near me he near LOC-my</i> | |
| | <i>He is near me</i> | |

Other prepositions with a locative function are *netriho-* (+ possessive) *a long way behind*, *ilat outside*, *unisoŋ inside*, *nogori-* (+ possessive) *near between*, and *taŋkau opposite*.

4.3. Temporal phrases

Temporal phrases are not marked by prepositions — at least, this seems true from the available data. A temporal phrase consists either of a temporal noun, or of a noun (with time reference) + modifiers. Examples of temporal nouns are:

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| (130) | <i>ninŋoi</i> | <i>when</i> | <i>tawi-tantop</i> | <i>soon</i> |
| | <i>marima</i> | <i>now</i> | <i>mitnoŋ</i> | <i>early</i> |
| | <i>marima-ŋo</i> | <i>immediately</i> | <i>ratunemis</i> | <i>early</i> |
| | <i>ire</i> | <i>today</i> | <i>penuri</i> | <i>late, after</i> |
| | <i>mran</i> | <i>tomorrow</i> | <i>yetunemis</i> | <i>at midnight</i> |
| | <i>ninu</i> | <i>yesterday</i> | <i>ratemran</i> | <i>on the next day</i> |
| | <i>etuai</i> | <i>a short time ago</i> | <i>idowi</i> | <i>always</i> |
| | <i>itetuai</i> | <i>long ago</i> | | |

Days beyond tomorrow and yesterday are expressed by identical roots but different prefixes, *we-* or *wi-* for the future and *no-* for the past:

- (131)
- | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|
| we-meh | <i>day after tomorrow</i> |
| no-meh | <i>day before yesterday</i> |
| wi-na | <i>in three days' time</i> |
| no-na | <i>three days ago</i> |
| wi-mpe | <i>in four days' time</i> |
| no-mpe | <i>four days ago</i> |
| wi-sas | <i>in five days' time</i> |
| no-sas | <i>five days ago</i> |

The same form, *nementoq*, is used with both past and future reference: *six days ago* or *in six days' time*. The days of the week are also temporal nouns. The first two are direct borrowings from Bislama, but the others are native compounds:

- (132)
- | | |
|------------|------------------------------|
| mode | <i>Monday</i> |
| tuste | <i>Tuesday</i> |
| sensimah | <i>Wednesday</i> |
| dan dvat | <i>Thursday (= day four)</i> |
| dan sukrim | <i>Friday (= day five)</i> |
| dan eworum | <i>Saturday</i> |
| dan mido | <i>Sunday</i> |

Examples of temporal phrases of both types are given in the following sentences:

- (133)
- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| kak-l-ampelam tawi-tantop | <i>niqoi g-aqh-og?</i> |
| LEXC:A-PL-IRR:come not-long | <i>when 3SG:A-IRR:see-you:SG</i> |
| <i>We (exc.pl.) will come soon</i> | <i>When will he see you (sg.)?</i> |
| g-ogh-i nate pumrog | <i>g-ampelam nevi hai</i> |
| 3SG:A-see-TR my:father night | <i>3SG:A-IRR:come year one</i> |
| <i>He saw my father at night</i> | <i>He will come next year</i> |

4.4. Other phrases

The structure and marking of a number of other phrase types will be briefly examined here.

4.4.1. Dative phrases

Dative phrases are normally marked by the preposition *poŋi*:

- (134)
- | |
|-----------------------------------|
| yag-am-n-am poŋ av-uŋ |
| 1SG:A-PRES-IRR-talk DAT friend-my |
| <i>I am talking to my friend</i> |
| owi poyau |
| leave DAT:me |
| <i>Leave it for me</i> |

The verb *ovoŋi* *give*, however, which appears morphologically related to the preposition *poŋi*, does not use a preposition to mark the dative:

- (135) g-ovoŋ-kum nompŋahi duru yag-ampoŋ-i simeon nup
 3SG:A-give-you:PL pig two 1SG:A-IRR:give-TR Simeon yam
 He gave you (pl.) two pigs I will give Simeon yam(s)

The preposition towoni introduces a privative phrase, which may be considered as a kind of dative phrase. Examples:

- (136) go-vai tomnog yag-ampai towoni dinme
 3SG:A-take PRIV:you:SG 1SG:A-IRR:take PRIV mother:his
 He took it from you (sg.) I will take it from his mother

4.4.2. Instrumental phrases

Instrumental phrases are introduced by the preposition ŋi (oŋi with third singular pronoun object):

- (137) yog-orvi-su nei ŋi nake enoŋkik
 1SG:A-cut-PF tree INS axe POSS:your:SG
 I cut down the tree with your (sg.) axe

 yog-oruw-oŋi noru-ŋ oŋi
 1SG:A-wash-TR hand-my INS:it
 I washed my hands with it

4.4.3. Causative phrases

Causative phrases are introduced by the preposition ra:

- (138) g-am-n-amarat ra nomu
 3SG:A-PRES-IRR-sick CAUS fish
 He is sick because of the fish (which he ate)

4.4.4. Benefactive phrases

Benefactive phrases are introduced by one of two prepositions, nisgo- or nimsi-, both of which take possessive pronominal suffixes. The difference between the two forms is not clear. Both may be used with a human goal, as in (139):

- (139) yi-tai lou nisgo-m y-ompi nisgo-n neteme
 3SG:B-make canoe BENF-your:SG 3SG:B-do BENF-his man
 He made a canoe for you (sg.) He did it for the man

 armai nimsi-m
 good BENF-your:SG
 It's good for you (sg.)

Only nimsi-, however, seems to be used with a non-human goal:

- (140) armai nimsi-n n-eni *armai nisgo-n n-eni
 good BENF-its NOM-eat good BENF-its NOM-eat
 It's good for eating

Further investigation is needed to establish the nature of the semantic difference between these two forms.

4.4.5. Comitative phrases

Comitative phrases are introduced by the preposition *du*:

- (141) *yi-ve ra lou du yau*
 3SG:B-go LOC canoe COM me
 He went in a canoe with me

Capell's MS states that *du* occurs only with singular goals, and that *dal* is used with non-singular goals, and may also be used with singular goals as well:

- (142) *d-u-m-ve dal iyi potnarvin*
 3PL:B-PL-FP-go COM him Potnarvin
 They went with him to Potnarvin

However, the form *du* was the only one which I elicited, and this area requires further checking.

4.4.6. Similative phrases

Similative phrases are introduced by *hogkuse as, like*:

- (143) *naŋku k-em-ampe iyuwi k-aŋh-i nvat ɣ-am-antur hogkuse neteme*
 if 2SG:A-PRES-IRR:go there 2SG:A-IRR:see-TR stone 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:
 stand like person
 If you (sg.) go there, you will see a stone standing like a person.

4.5. Intensive enclitics

Brief mention should be made here of a number of intensive enclitics, which may be added to any kind of phrase (although they usually occur on noun or verb phrases). The enclitics identified are:

- | | | |
|-------|------|-------------------------------------|
| (144) | -wi | general intensive |
| | -veh | meliorative intensive |
| | -sag | meliorative intensive, augmentative |
| | -idi | pejorative intensive |
| | -sat | pejorative intensive |

Some examples:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (145) | n-omurep | <i>life</i> | n-omurep-wi | <i>true life</i> |
| | oroŋ | <i>power</i> | oroŋ-veh | <i>majesty</i> |
| | asor | <i>call out</i> | asor-sag | <i>shout aloud</i> |
| | neteme | <i>man</i> | netem-idi | <i>bad man</i> |
| | elasivian | <i>to want</i> | elasivian-sat | <i>to lust</i> |

5. CLAUSES

With the exception of serial verbs as briefly discussed in section 2.1.7., clauses in Sie contain no more than one verb. Two general types of clauses are discussed in this section: verbless clauses are examined in section 5.1., and verbal clauses in 5.2.

5.1. Verbless clauses

Verbless clauses usually contain two phrases. Most commonly, the first of these is a noun phrase acting as topic, and the second is a phrase acting as comment. The comment phrase may be an adjective, a possessive, a locative phrase, a temporal phrase, or another noun phrase; other kinds of phrases occur rarely in this position. Some examples are given below, with phrase-boundaries marked by slashes:

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (146) | nimo imo / virog
<i>house this / small</i>
<i>This house is small</i>

yomug / potpot telno-n
<i>mosquito / near ear-his</i>
<i>There is a mosquito near</i>
<i>his ear</i>

lui / ra denug
<i>Lui / LOC garden</i>
<i>Lui is in the garden</i>

se / mah?
<i>what / that</i>
<i>What is that?</i> | nimo / en mei?
<i>house / POSS who</i>
<i>Whose house is it?</i>

iyi / inko
<i>he / here</i>
<i>He is here</i>

n-evip / ninu
<i>NOM-rain / yesterday</i>
<i>It rained yesterday,</i>
<i>There was rain yesterday</i> |
|-------|---|---|

When the comment is a temporal phrase, the order comment + topic is at least as common as topic + comment:

- (147) ninu / tawi n-evip
 yesterday / no NOM-rain
 Yesterday there was no rain

Similarly, when the locative phrase is an interrogative locative, this generally precedes rather than follows the topic NP:

- (148) iya / iyi?
 where / he
 Where is he?

5.2. Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses are, however, much more common in Sie. In this section we first examine the basic intransitive and transitive clause types, and then discuss expanded clauses.

5.2.1. Basic intransitive clauses

The basic intransitive clause has the structure Subject + Verb. Where the subject is a pronoun, or a noun phrase which has appeared in an earlier part of the discourse, it may be omitted, since the person and number of the subject are marked by prefixes to the verb. Indeed, in this context, a subject is normally present only when the speaker wishes to place strong emphasis on it, as in

- (149) yau yogo-velam
 I 1SG:A-come
 I came; It was me who came

Some examples of basic intransitive clauses are given in (150) below:

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (150) | narai y-agan
<i>Narai 3SG:B-angry</i>
<i>Narai was angry</i>

yogo-tu-ampe
<i>1SG:A-NEG-IRR:go</i>
<i>I won't go</i> | etm-en yi-velam
<i>father-his 3SG:B-come</i>
<i>His father came</i>

d-u-m-n-am
<i>3PL:B-PL-PRES-IRR-talk</i>
<i>They are talking</i> |
|-------|--|---|

5.2.2. Basic transitive clauses

The basic transitive clause has the structure Subject + Verb + Object. As we saw in 5.2.1., when the subject is a pronoun or a noun phrase which has already been mentioned, it may be deleted, and usually is. Similarly, when the object is a pronoun, it appears as a suffix to the verb and not as a free noun phrase; and when the object is a noun phrase which has already been mentioned, it may be omitted, though the transitive suffix remains. Thus the simplest form of the basic transitive clause is, simply, a verb.

Some examples of basic transitive clauses are given below in (151):

- | | |
|-------|---|
| (151) | etm-en yi-tai lou
<i>father-his 3SG:B-make canoe</i>
<i>His father made a canoe</i>

narai y-etni retpo-n
<i>Narai 3SG:B-burn wife-his</i>
<i>Narai burned his wife</i>

yag-am-n-eni nup
<i>1SG:A-PRES-IRR-eat yam</i>
<i>I am eating yam</i>

go-vai naif eniau
<i>3SG:A-take knife POSS:my</i>
<i>He took my knife</i>

neteme mah g-am-aŋkil-og
<i>man that 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-you:SG</i>
<i>That man knows you</i>

g-ogh-or
<i>3SG:A-see-them</i>
<i>He saw them</i> |
|-------|---|

5.2.3. Expansions

Basic intransitive and transitive clauses are expanded by the addition of other types of phrases (cf. section 4). The most general statement that can be made is that other phrases follow the verb in an intransitive clause and the overt object in a transitive clause. Exceptions to this general statement will be discussed later. The data we have available are insufficient to decide whether there is any rigid ordering of the phrases which follow the verb or

object; my experience with other Southern Vanuatu languages suggests that the ordering of these phrases is probably not all that significant. Some examples of expanded clauses are given below:

- (152) yag-am-n-eni nup marima
 1SG:A-PRES-IRR-eat *yam now*
 I am eating yam now
- nahiven go-tu-ve vila
 woman 3SG:A-NEG-go *Vila*
 The woman didn't go to Vila
- d-u-m-n-am poŋ av-uŋ
 3PL:B-PL-PRES-IRR-talk DAT *friend-my*
 They are talking to my friend
- go-ve ra stoa ninu
 3SG:A-go LOC *store yesterday*
 He went to the store yesterday
- nalau g-am-aduw-oŋi noru-n ŋi sop
 child 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:wash-TR *hand-his* INS *soap*
 The child washes his hands with soap
- neteme mah yi-tai sau nisgo-n av-uŋ-hai
 man PREF 3SG:B-make *spear* BENF-*his brother:my*
 That man made a spear for my brother

The unmarked dative with verbs like ovoŋi *give* was discussed above in section 4.4.1. The question of the order of phrases is irrelevant if the dative phrase is a pronoun, since the dative is marked by object suffixes to the verb and the direct object occurs as a separate noun phrase:

- (153) g-ovo-yau naif ninu
 3SG:A-give-me *knife yesterday*
 He gave me a knife yesterday

When the dative phrase is a noun phrase, however, both direct object + dative and dative + direct object orders are possible:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|---|
| (154) | g-ovo-ŋi nvaŋ hai neteme | yag-ampo-ŋi simeon nompgahi dehel |
| | 3SG:A-give-TR <i>food one man</i> | 1SG:A-IRR:give-TR <i>Simeon pig three</i> |
| | <i>He gave a man food</i> | <i>I will give Simeon three pigs</i> |

Presumably, it is the animacy hierarchy, and not the position in the clause, which determines which of two unmarked postverbal noun phrases is the direct object and which is the indirect object.

In general, then, the structure of a Sie verbal clause is (Subject) + Verb + (Object) + (other phrases). Apart from the variations discussed above, there are two other exceptions to this general rule. One involves the fronting of certain interrogative elements, and is best left to the discussion on questions in section 6.2.3. below. The other involves temporal phrases which in Sie, as in perhaps most of the world's languages, are highly mobile. In particular, although other phrases are generally restricted to post-verbal position, temporal phrases may often occur sentence-initially as well:

6.2. Sentence-types

In this section we briefly examine the various sentence-types in Sie: statements, commands, questions, and what for want of a better term we might call subjunctive sentences. Wherever possible we have restricted the examples of each sentence-type to single-clause sentences, to allow for ease in interpretation; however, essentially the same remarks apply to multi-clause sentences.

6.2.1. Statements

Statements in Sie (as in most languages) form the unmarked class of sentences: there are no distinguishing features which mark a sentence as a statement, and most of the sentences used so far in this sketch as examples are statements. A few more examples:

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (159) | <p>yag-ampe unisoŋ nimo
 1SG:A-IRR:go inside house
 <i>I'll go inside the house</i></p> <p>namou go-velam-su
 my:mother 3SG:A-come-PF
 <i>My mother has come</i></p> | <p>go-tai nompgahi eniau
 3SG:A-kill pig POSS:my
 <i>He killed my pig</i></p> <p>yau-m-tai neteme ŋi nei
 1SG:B-MP-hit man INS stick
 <i>I hit the man with a stick</i></p> |
|-------|--|---|

6.2.2. Commands

Imperative sentences differ little from statements. The major differences are (a) absence of overt subject (although a vocative introduction to the sentences is possible), and (b) the absence of person or tense/aspect prefixes to the verb. The verb in a command may, however, take negative and number prefixes and, as far as we can tell, may also take the full range of suffixes. Some examples:

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (160) | <p>velam
 <i>come</i>
 <i>Come (sg.)!</i></p> <p>etu-am ponor
 NEG-talk DAT:them
 <i>Don't (sg.) talk to them!</i></p> <p>u-tu-ovoŋ-i ovateme mah nompgahi enoŋkoh
 PL-NEG-give-TR PL:man that pig POSS:our:INC
 <i>Don't (pl.) give those people our pigs!</i></p> | <p>u-ogh-or (becoming ughor by
 morpho-phonemic rules)
 PL-see-them
 <i>Look (pl.) at them!</i></p> |
|-------|---|---|

6.2.3. Questions

Two general types of questions can be identified in Sie: those which use interrogative words, and ask for specific information, and those which ask for confirmation or denial.

Information questions use one of a number of interrogative morphemes, the most common of which are listed below:

(161)	mei	who?
	se	what? ¹⁷
	niŋoi	when?
	iya, -ya	where?
	itogo	which?
	ra se (mah)	why?
	deve	how much?, how many?
	nimsi-n se	why?
	nogowo	how?

Certain of these forms show a tendency to violate the regular word order of clauses and phrases found, for example, in statements. Thus normal word order in a clause is Subject + Verb + Object + other phrases, and normal word order in a noun phrase is Noun + modifiers. However, *se what?*, *niŋoi when?*, *iya where?*, *ra se* or *ra se mah why?*, and *nimsi-n se why?* show a preference for sentence-initial position (though this is by no means a hard-and-fast rule), while *deve how much/many?* has also been shown to occur either before or after the noun (section 3.7. above).

Leaving aside for the moment the two forms *iya* and *-ya where?*, the examples in (162) illustrate some of the other Sie interrogatives:

(162)	mei go-velam?	k-ogh-i mei?
	who 3SG:A-come	2SG:A-see-TR who
	Who came?	Whom did you (sg.) see?
	se k-oni?	niŋoi g-ampe eromanga?
	what 2SG:A-eat	when 3SG:A-IRR:go Erromango
	What did you (sg.) eat?	When will he go to Erromango?
	niŋoi ko-velam?	neteme itogo g-ompi mah?
	when 2SG:A-come	man which 3SG:A-do that
	When did you (sg.) come?	Which man did that?
	ra se mah g-am-n-ompi?	
	CAUS what that 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:do	
	Why is he doing it?	
	d-u-tai nompŋahi deve? (or deve nompŋahi)	
	3PL:B-PL-kill pig how:many	
	How many pigs did they kill?	
	nimsi-n se k-oni nup eniau?	
	BENF-its what 2SG-eat yam POSS:my	
	Why did you (sg.) eat my yam?	

The forms *iya* and *-ya* are both used in locative questions, the former as a locational noun and the latter as a verbal suffix. The locational noun *iya* has a preference for sentence-initial position. A locative interrogative sentence may contain either or both of *iya* and *-ya*, as the following illustrate:

(163)	iya k-aŋh-or	k-aŋh-or-ya?
	where 2SG:A-IRR:see-them	2SG:A-IRR:see-them-where
	Where will you (sg.) see them?	Where will you (sg.) see them?
	iya k-aŋh-or-ya?	
	where 2SG:A-IRR:see-them-where	
	Where will you (sg.) see them?	

The second type of question, yes-no questions, generally either ask for confirmation or denial (as in English "Did he go?") or, in a slightly expanded version, present a limited range of possible answers (as in English "Will you come on Monday or Tuesday?"). This type of question may be marked in a number of different ways in Sie:

1. No change in sentence structure at all, but with rising rather than falling intonation at the end of the sentence:

(164) g-ampelam mran?
 3SG:A-IRR:come tomorrow
 Will he come tomorrow?

2. Using sentence-initial se (probably identical with se *what?*) before the statement:

(165) se neteme g-ampelam? se k-ogh-i lou duru?
 Q man 3SG:A-IRR:come Q 2SG:A-see-TR canoe two
 Will the man come? Did you (sg.) see two canoes?

3. Placing the phrase ku tawi *or not* after the statement:

(166) tom go-ve vila ku tawi?
 Tom 3SG:A-go Vila or not
 Did Tom go to Vila (or not)?

In normal speech, this question-tag is generally shortened simply to ku:

(167) k-am-amtit-oyau ku? simeon m lui d-u-velam ku?
 2SG:A-PRES-fear-me or Simeon and Lui 3PL:B-PL-come or
 Are you (sg.) frightened of me? Did Simeon and Lui come?

4. Some questions have been recorded which use features (2) and (3) together: i.e. sentence-initial se along with sentence-final ku:

(168) se g-am-ampelam ku? se k-ogh-i lou duru ku?
 Q 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:come or Q 2SG:A-see-TR canoe two or
 Is he coming? Did you (sg.) see two canoes?

The semantic difference between se, ku, and se...ku, if any, is not known to us.

5. As we saw above in section 6.1.1., a question may also be encoded by using ku *or* between two noun phrases; see the examples in (157).
6. Similarly, a question may be encoded by using ku between two clauses — essentially the kind of structure of which type (3) above is a reduction. Example:

(169) etom go-ve vila ku go-tedowi eromaga?
 your:father 3SG:A-go Vila or 3SG:A-stay Erromango
 Did your (sg.) father go to Vila or did he stay on Erromango?

6.2.4. Subjunctive sentences

Subjunctive sentences generally use one of the conditional tenses and are often introduced by an adverb indicating that there is some doubt in the speaker's mind. Some examples:

- (170) yau-p-ogh-i lui potpot yau-pe-velam
 1SG:B-COND-see-TR Lui near 1SG:B-COND-come
 I nearly saw Lui I was just about to come (but I
 didn't)

A similar sense is conveyed by *nigoi* with non-conditional verbs. Although we have seen *nigoi* as the temporal interrogative *when?*, in this sense it has a dubitative meaning (often translating Bislama *mait perhaps*):

- (171) niŋoi yag-ampelam mran niŋoi go-ve vila ninu
 perhaps 1SG:A-IRR:come tomorrow perhaps 3SG:A-go Vila yesterday
 I might come tomorrow He might have gone to Vila yesterday

6.3. Complex sentences

Complex sentences consist of more than one clause. The relationships between the clauses are varied, and in this section we examine as many types of complex sentences for which we have a reasonable amount of data.

6.3.1. Coordination

The coordinate conjunction linking clauses is *im and*. However, *im* is rarely used. The most common conjunctive mechanisms in Sie are (i) juxtaposition of clauses with no conjunction, and (ii) the use of the echo-prefix *m-*. In many coordinate sentences, both features are used simultaneously.

Echo-subject. The prefix m- marks a verb as having the same subject as the previous verb.¹⁸ This form of coordination is not quite totally obligatory, but is used in almost all cases when the subjects of two (or more) clauses are identical. When the echo-subject prefix is used, it replaces the expected person-of-subject prefix; tense/aspect markers are usually deleted under identity, but number and negative prefixes are not deleted. Some examples are given below:

- (172) *yag-ampe Vila m-aḡh-i av-uḡ-hai*
 1SG:A-IRR:go Vila ES-IRR:see-TR my:brother
 I will go to Vila and see my brother
- g-amtit-oyau m-alou*
 3SG:A-fear-me ES-run:away
 He got frightened of me and ran away
- narai m numpwat d-u-sau unwo m-u-velam m-u-ve empatap*
 Narai and Numpwat 3PL:B-PL-come:out Unwo ES-PL-come ES-PL-go north
 Narai and Numpwat came out (of the ground) at Unwo and came and
 went north

When the subject of a clause is different from that of the previous clause, however, the echo-subject prefix cannot be used. Examine the following sentences which show some verbs marked with m- and others marked with a person prefix:

- (173) hai neteme go-velam m-omprog-ŋi route eniror d-u-agan
 one man 3SG:A-come ES-steal-TR thing POSS:their 3PL:B-PL-angry
 Someone came and stole their things and they got angry

yogo-tu pruvvgum lui go-velam m-etipe hai sesai
 1SG:A-get:up morning Lui 3SG:A-come ES-leave one something
*I got up in the morning and (found that) Lui had come and
 left something*

narai y-agan m-tai retpo-n m-etn-i y-au
 Narai 3SG:B-angry ES-kill:TR wife-his ES-cook-TR 3SG-burn

m-onkoko m-am-antur nvat
 ES-harden ES-PRES-IRR:stand stone

*Narai was angry and killed his wife and burned her, and she
 burned and hardened and now stands there as a stone*

This last example is particularly interesting for a number of reasons. Note firstly that the switch of subjects requires the use of the person prefix (thus y-au and not m-au), but that once the subject switch has been made, the succeeding clauses now have the same subject as the subject of the clause of which y-au is the verb, and the echo-subject prefix can again be used. The last clause is also of interest since it shows the use of the echo-subject prefix with a change of tense (m-am-antur present tense, following a string of general past tense verbs).

Other coordination. The examples given in (172) and, especially, (173) point up another feature of coordinate sentences in Sie: that conjunctions linking coordinate clauses do not normally appear. Capell's biblical examples show a few occurrences of the conjunction im, as the following example from the "Prodigal Son" story shows:

- (174) y-etur m-velam poŋ etm-en, im etm-en y-ogh-i ...
 3SG:B-stand ES-come DAT father-his, and father-his 3SG:B-see-TR ...
He arose and came to his father, and his father saw him ...

However, im is found far more frequently, both in Capell's textual data and my own, as a sentence introducer, somewhat equivalent to the English 'and then...'.

Coordinate sentences therefore rely heavily on juxtaposition of clauses without formal connectors, but with the echo-subject prefix being used to mark identity of subjects across clauses. (It should be noted here that the echo-subject prefix is used only across clause-boundaries when the clauses are of equal status; it is not used if one clause is dependent on another.)

6.3.2. Disjunction and alternation

Clauses which are disjunctive are joined by the connector kou *but*.

Examples:

- (175) yog-oni nup kou yogo-tu-agai-ŋi-veh
 1SG:A-eat yam but 1SG:A-NEG-like-TR-INT
I ate yam but I didn't like it much
 simeon go-ve vila kou lui go-tedowi eromaga
 Simeon 3SG:A-go Vila but Lui 3SG:A-stay Erromango
Simeon went to Vila but Lui stayed in Erromango

Clauses in an alternative relationship are linked by the connector ku *or*. Some examples of this type of complex sentence were given in 6.2.3. above.

6.3.3. Temporal clauses

The most common introducer of temporal clauses is *nempqon when*, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (176) *nempqon yau-m-velam, yau-m-ogh-i*
when 1SG:B-MP-come, 1SG:B-MP-see-TR
When I came, I saw him
- nempqon yag-am-ampelam, yag-aqh-i*
when 1SG:A-PRES-IRR:come, 1SG:A-IRR:see-TR
When I come, I'll see him

The connector *penuri after* implies a sequence of events which is not necessarily implied by the use of *nempqon*:

- (177) *yi-velam penuri yau-m-enwi poqi*
3SG:B-come after 1SG:B-MP-say DAT:him
He came after I told him to

In Capell's MS, a number of other temporal connectors are listed: *polku while*, *maveli until*, and *kuntawi or kutawi lest*. (For the last, cf. *ku or*, *tawi not*).

6.3.4. Locative clauses

The few examples of locative clauses elicited are introduced by *ra nur mori* (LOC place REL) *where*:

- (178) *yi-velam ra nur mori yau-m-enwi poqi m-ogu g-ampelam-wi*
3SG:B-come LOC place REL 1SG:B-MP-say DAT:him ES-say 3SG:A-IRR:come-
LOCREL
He came to the place where I told him to come to

6.3.5. Causal clauses

In Capell's MS, three conjunctions are translated as *for*, *because*: *it*, *popowo*, and *itepopowo* (possible *it-popowo*). Unfortunately, we have no data on the use of any of these. My data show the use of the form *ra* — already illustrated as locative, instrumental, and causative preposition — being used to introduce causal clauses; e.g.:

- (179) *yi-velam ra yau-m-enwi poqi*
3SG:B-come because 1SG:B-MP-tell DAT:him
He came because I told him to

Even more common, however, is the simple juxtaposition of two clauses, the second of which stands in a causal relationship with the first:

- (180) *neteme-tavu go-velam m-ogh-iyau yag-am-n-amarat*
doctor 3SG:A-come ES-see-me 1SG:A-PRES-IRR-sick
The doctor came to see me (because) I am sick
- g-alou yogo-tai*
3SG:A-run:away 1SG:A-hit:TR
He ran away (because) I hit him

6.3.6. Purpose clauses

Clauses of purpose are, according to Capell's MS, introduced by *ma* or *ma soṅku*:

- (181) *yag-ampelam ma soṅku yogo-ntaloṅ-kik*
 1SG:A-IRR:come PURP PURP 1SG:A-IRR:kill-you:SG
I shall come in order to kill you (sg.)

6.3.7. Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by *naṅku if*. A distinction must be made between future or real conditions and past or unreal conditions. Real conditional clauses use *naṅku* + present or future of the verb in the condition, and the future in the result:

- (182) *naṅku yag-am-ampelam, yogo-tu-aṅh-i nate*
if 1SG:A-PRES-IRR:come, 1SG:A-NEG-IRR:see-TR my:father
If I come, I won't see my father
naṅku yogo-tu-m-ampelam, yogo-tu-aṅh-i nate
if 1SG:A-NEG-PRES-IRR:come, 1SG:A-NEG-IRR:see-TR my:father
If I don't come, I won't see my father
naṅku yag-am-ampelam, kok-l-entai nompgahi
if 1SG:A-PRES-IRR:come, 1INC:A-PL-IRR:kill:TR pig
If I come, we (inc.) will kill (the) pig(s)

Unreal conditions, on the other hand, require the use of the conditional tense/aspect prefix *pe-*. As far as we can work out on the basis of data presently available, the condition, introduced by *naṅku*, takes *pe-* + present tense, while the result takes *pe-* and the oral form of the verb. Examples:

- (183) *naṅku yau-pe-m-ampelam, yau-p-ogh-i nate*
if 1SG:B-COND-PRES-IRR:come, 1SG:B-COND-see-TR my:father
If I had come, I would have seen my father
naṅku yau-pe-tu-m-ampelam, yau-pe-tu-ogh-i nate
if 1SG:B-COND-NEG-PRES-IRR:come, 1SG:B-COND-NEG-see-TR my:father
If I hadn't come, I wouldn't have seen my father

6.3.8. Complementation

Sentential complements are extremely common in Sie textual data, especially in object position. There are a number of different ways of encoding clauses as objects of other clauses, and these will be briefly examined in this section.

Nominalisation. A clause may function as a sentential object of another clause when the verb of the object clause is nominalised by the prefix *n-*. In these cases, no other structural changes are apparent – the nominalised clause may contain objects, datives, locatives, etc. – apart from the deletion of the subject of the clause:

- (184) *yag-am-aṅkil-i n-ogh-i ovateme o-virog yempe*
 1SG:B-PRES-IRR:know-TR NOM-see-TR PL:man PL-small that
I can see those small people

yag-am-n-agay-oŋi n-alou marima
 1SG:A-PRES-IRR-want-TR NOM-run:away now
I want to run away now

yau-m-anteŋ-i n-ogh-i
 1SG:B-MP-keep:on-TR NOM-see-TR
I kept on looking at it

It will be clear from these examples, however, that the option of nominalisation is available only if the subject of the embedded clause is identical with the subject of the matrix clause.

Juxtaposition. When the subjects of the two clauses are different, nominalisation is ungrammatical. Instead, the two clauses are simply juxtaposed:

- (185) yag-am-aŋkil-i lui go-ve vila
 1SG:A-PRES-IRR:know-TR Lui 3SG:A-go Vila
I know that Lui went to Vila
- yogo-tu-m-aŋkil-i lui ku simeon go-tipe hai sesai
 1SG:A-NEG-PRES-IRR:know-TR Lui or Simeon 3SG:A-leave one something
I don't know whether Lui or Simeon left something

This kind of juxtaposition of clauses may also occur when the subjects are identical. For example:

- (186) yag-am-n-agay-oŋi yag-ampe vila
 1SG:A-PRES-IRR-want-TR 1SG:A-IRR:go Vila
I want to go to Vila
- yag-am-n-agai-ŋi yag-ampe
 1SG:A-PRES-IRR-must-TR 1SG:A-IRR:go
I must go
- yag-am-n-agay-oŋi yag-aduh
 1SG:A-PRES-IRR-want-TR 1SG:A-IRR:swim
I want to swim

It is clear that juxtaposition is the most common option when the subjects of the clauses are different. When the subjects are identical, however, there are two options: juxtaposition and nominalisation. From the data available, it seems that juxtaposition expresses a certain amount of urgency, whereas nominalisation is more matter-of-fact. Informants suggested to me, for example, that the last sentence in (186) above implied that I want to swim right now; the nominalised version, yag-am-n-agay-oŋi n-oruh (1SG:A-PRES-IRR-want-TR NOM-swim), is a rather more general statement, possibly better expressed in English as 'I like swimming' or 'I like to swim'.

Quotation. The quotative verb in Sie is oŋu (irrealis form aŋku). Its primary use is to introduce direct or indirect quotations. In this regard, it is almost always preceded by a verb of saying, and thus appears with the echo-subject prefix m-. Examples:

- (187) yi-velam ra nur mori yau-m-enwi poŋi m-oŋu g-ampelam-wi
 3SG:B-come LOC place REL 1SG:B-MP-say DAT:him ES-say 3SG:A-IRR:come-
 LOCREL
He came to the place where I told him to come to
- nur mah iyuwi g-u-m-ampr-oŋi m-aŋku 'y-etn-i-wi retpo-n'
 place PREF there 3PL:A-PL-PRES-IRR:call-TR ES-IRR:say '3SG:A-burn-
 TR-LOCREL wife-his'
And they call that place 'He-burnt-his-wife-there'

Quotative as conjunction. As in a number of other languages of Melanesia (including Bislama), the quotative verb may be used not only after verbs of saying, but also after other verbs which have a clausal object (verbs like know, think, and so on). Although the distribution and limits of this usage in Sie have not yet been fully worked out, it is clear that this function of *ogu* is present in the language:

- (188) *nompunowai y-em-agay-oni m-ogu go-ntaloŋ-i netemaghi*
Nompunowai 3SG:B-FP-want-TR ES-say 3SG:A-IRR:kill-TR *brother:in:law*
Nompunowai wanted to kill his brother-in-law
- y-okil-i m-ogu netemaghi go-mah*
 3SG:B-know-TR ES-say *brother:in:law* 3SG:A-die
 He knew that his brother-in-law was dead

6.4. Sentence introducers

Since neither of us have collected a great deal of textual material, there is not much that we can say at this stage on the matter of sentence introducers. In previous sections, we have noted the use of *niŋoi* to introduce subjunctive sentences (6.2.4.), and we have referred to the use of *im* and (6.3.1.) in introducing connected action sentences in texts. Other sentence introducers are:

- (189) *ima* *then, and then*
 kou *but, but then*
 penuri *afterwards*
 maveli *later*

7. TEXTS

In this section, two Sie texts are given. The first was told to me by John Naupa, and the second by Tom Kiri. In each case, the text is given first morpheme-by-morpheme in Sie with interlinear English morpheme glosses. The text is followed by a fairly free English translation.

7.1. Narai and Numpwat

- narai m numpwat d-u-sau unwo m-u-velam m-u-ve empatap.*
Narai and Numpwat 3PL:B-PL-come:out *Unwo* ES-PL-come ES-PL-go north.
- nemlap m nedoŋ d-u-ve empag d-u-alagaŋlau m-u-ti nedu, nemi.*
Nemlap and Nendong 3PL:B-PL-go south 3PL:B-PL-beget ES-PL-produce *Nendu, Nemi.*
- nempŋon narai y-em-ne m-em-ve ralifati y-ompoglag navwolu m-tor-i*
when Narai 3SG:B-FP-leave ES-FP-go *Ralifati* 3SG:B-marry *Navwolu* ES-lead-TR
- nahiven eni m-em-ve ralifati. retpo-n y-em-tar-oni idowi nur*
woman POSS:his ES-FP-go Ralifati. wife-his 3SG:B-FP-think-TR *always place*
- eni navwolu m-ete-ŋi n-alanŋkau. narai y-agan m-tai*
POSS:her Navwolu ES-keep-TR NOM-look:around. *Narai* 3SG:B-angry ES-kill:TR
- retpo-n m-etn-i y-au m-onŋkoŋko m-am-antur nvat. naŋku*
wife-his ES-cook-TR 3SG:B-burn ES-harden ES-PRES-IRR:stand *stone. if*

k-em-ampe iyuwi k-aŋh-i nvat g-am-antur hogkuse
 2SG:A-PRES-IRR:go there 2SG:A-IRR:see-TR stone 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:stand like
 neteme. im nur mah iyuwi g-u-m-ampr-oŋi m-aŋku
 person. and place PREF there 3SG:A-PL-PRES-IRR:call-TR ES-IRR:say
 'y-etn-i-wi retpo-n'. yi-tai-wi retpo-n m-etn-i
 '3SG:B-cook-TR-LOCREL wife-his'. 3SG:B-kill:TR-LOCREL wife-his ES-cook-TR
 m-owun m-em-ve ralifati.
 ES-leave ES-MP-go Ralifati.

Free translation

Narai and Numpwat came out of the ground at Unwo and came and went north. Nemlap and Nendong went south and produced two children, Nendu and Nemi. When Narai left and went to Ralifati he got married at Navwolu and brought his wife and went to Ralifati. His wife was always thinking about her place, Navwolu, and kept looking round. Narai got angry and killed his wife and burned her, and she burned and hardened and stands as a stone. If you go there you will see a stone standing like a person. And that place there they call 'Yetniwi Retpon' (the place where he burned his wife). He killed his wife there and burned her and left and went back to Ralifati.

7.2. John Williams

yag-am-n-agay-oŋi uvuvu-ŋi ioane williams. williams i-mah
 1SG:A-PRES-IRR-want-TR tell:story-TR John Williams. Williams 3SG:B-die
 itetuai. nempŋon iyi yi-velam d-u-tu-agan poŋi ko-ra hai
 long:ago. when he 3SG:B-come 3PL:B-PL-NEG-angry DAT:him because:of one
 neteme i-velam mampum m-amprog-ŋi ov-noute eniror pai m-alou
 man 3SG:B-come first ES-steal-TR PL-thing POSS:their then ES-run:away
 y-etr-or ŋi torani talogod. nempŋon iror d-u-m-ute m-ogh-i
 3SG:B-shoot-them INS gun kill:them. when they 3PL:B-PL-FP-stay ES-see-TR
 d-u-agan poŋi d-u-m-ugu go-velam m-amprog-ŋi noute eniror.
 3PL:B-PL-angry DAT:him 3PL:B-PL-FP-say 3SG:A-come ES-steal-TR thing POSS:their.
 maveli d-u-te nevi oroŋ-tou. maveli d-u-te m-ogh-i hai tavsoŋi
 later 3PL:B-PL-stay year many. later 3PL:B-PL-stay ES-see-TR one teacher
 oroŋ i-velam. d-u-m-ugh-i d-u-m-ugu neteme mori i-velam
 big 3SG:B-come. 3PL:B-PL-FP-see-TR 3PL:B-PL-FP-say man REL 3SG:B-come
 g-u-antai m-ogh-i iror virog d-u-tamoli nam louitnantman
 3PL:A-PL-IRR:kill:TR ES-see-TR they few 3PL:B-PL-send word Louitnantman
 m-ugu ovateme g-u-ampelam m-antai.
 ES-PL:say PL:man 3PL:A-PL-IRR:come ES-IRR:kill:TR.

 hai netemeni-n uven yi-vai ovateme eni pai m-velam
 one man name-his Uven 3SG:B-take:TR PL:man POSS:his then ES-come
 m-ogh-i dou yi-velam tanti ra novahap. dan nempŋon
 ES-see-TR ship 3SG:B-come anchored LOC bay. day when
 d-u-semsimogod ikri dan tavsoŋi y-em-yep ikri
 3PL:B-PL-gather:together:them shore day teacher 3SG:B-FP-climb:down shore

d-u-vai hai nei m-ugronji m-ugu nagku g-am-n-atkisa
3PL:B-PL-take:TR one stick ES-PL:block:TR ES-PL:say if 3SG:A-PRES-IRR-keep:
going

m-anteluogi nei m-andu-ugrogi g-u-antaloqi. nempgon
ES-IRR:pass:TR *stick* ES-IRR:*stay-block* 3PL:A-PL-IRR:*kill*:TR. *when*

y-em-ogovsep	rampu	nvat	d-unwi	poŋi	m-ugu	'naŋku
3SG:B-FP-come:ashore	on:top	stone	3PL:B-PL:say	DAT:him	ES-PL:say	'if

k-em-n-atkisa m-enteluŋi nei ka-l-entalog-kik'. maveli
2SG:A-PRES-IRR-keep:going ES-IRR:pass stick 1EXC:A-PL-IRR:kill-you:SG'. later

y-atkisa seluŋi d-u-m-ugu g-u-antr-i; i-vai-sag
3SG:B-keep:going pass:TR 3PL:B-PL-FP-say 3PL:A-PL-shoot-TR; 3SG:B-take:TR-up

netai m-ovuaki-su tampli m-ogu-oseluongi nei d-utr-i gi torani
book ES-pray-PF already ES-say-pass:TR stick 3PL:B-PL:shoot-TR INS gun

y-omwol ra urva mah. de y-enompe ra urva.
3SG:B-fall LOC river dead. blood 3SG:B-run LOC river.

dan nempgon i-mah-su d-urioki pelag ra urva m-u-tari wogod,
day when 3SG:B-die-PF 3PL:B-PL:carry out LOC river ES-PL-cut INS:them,

m-u-vai m-u-ve eniror-wi. ovateme ra louitnatman d-u-vai
ES-PL-*take*:TR ES-PL-*go* POSS:*their*-LOCREL. PL:*man* LOC *Louitnatman* 3PL:B-PL-*take*:TR

nisgod m-u-vai eniror-wi. nempon d-u-m-uve g-u-elgavi
BENF:*their* ES-PL-*take*:TR POSS:*their*-LOCREL. *when* 3PL:B-PL-FP-PL:*go* 3PL:A-PL-
arrive

hai nur go-m-an̄ku 'net̄ŋo-n de it-alam g-am-n-enom-wi'.
one place 3SG:A-PRES-IRR:call 'inside-its blood ID-adult 3SG:A-PRES-IRR-flow-
LOCREL'.

dan nempgon g-u-m-elgavi nur eniror-wi, nogkon ovateme d-u-ve
day when 3PL:A-PL-FP-arrive *place* POSS:their-LOCREL, *some* PL:man 3PL:B-PL-go

m-utn-i nelat eniror unampo-d. hai neteme n-omgai
ES-PL:cook-TR meat POSS:their LOC:place-their. one man NOM?-foolish

y-em-ogh-i wor-avan en ioane williams i-vai pai m-ve nampo-n
3SG:B-FP-see-TR INS-walk POSS John Williams 3SG:B-take:TR then ES-go place-his

m-etn-i tapmi m-eni m-ogh-i domo yi-vai m-elki unisoŋ
ES-cook-TR *trying* ES-eat ES-see-TR *hard* 3SG:B-take:TR ES-tie:and:hang *inside*

m-ogu nangku g-am-n-empu go-n-eni. i suma wogon.
 ES-say if 3SG:A-PRES-IRR-stink 3SG:A-IRR-eat. finished very.

Free translation

I want to tell a story about John Williams (Presbyterian missionary, killed on Erromango in 1839). Williams died long ago. When he came the people were angry at him because one man had come before him and stole their things and ran away, and shot them with his gun and killed them. When they were there, they saw that they were angry with him, and said that he had come to steal their things. Later they stayed a long time, they stayed and saw a teacher come. They said that the man had come to steal their things. They said they would kill him, but they saw that there were few of them, and they sent word to Louitnatman saying that the people should come and kill him.

One man, named Uven, brought his people and came and saw the ship anchored in the bay. When they gathered together on the shore, and when the teacher climbed down on to the shore, they took a stick and blocked his path, and said that if he kept going and passed the stick which was blocking his way they would kill him. When he came ashore and stood on a rock, they said to him, "If you keep going and pass the stick we will kill you". But he kept going and passed the stick, and they said they would shoot him; he took up the Bible and when he had prayed he passed the stick, and they shot him with a gun, and he fell dead into the river. His blood flowed into the river.

When he had died they carried him out of the river and cut him up and divided him amongst them, and they took him and went to their own places. The Louitnatman people took their share and went home. When they went they arrived at a place called 'Where the big man's blood from his inside flowed'. When they arrived at their place, some men went and cooked their meat in their own places. One stupid man saw John Williams' shoes and took them and went to his place and tried to cook and eat them, and saw that they were hard, so he took them and tied them and hung them up inside, so that when they stank they would be ready to eat. The end.

NOTES

- ¹ This decision finds reinforcement in the fact that all other known members of the Southern Vanuatu subgroup also show contrast between simple and velarised bilabial stops and nasals.
- ² The southern communalects of Sie tend to show a greater frequency of /h/, and have /h/ in a number of words where the western dialect still retains /s/. A similar shift of /s/ to /h/ seems to be beginning in Tanna as well; Lenakel, for example, allows final /s/ to be pronounced as [s] or [h], and other Tanna languages also seem to be adopting the rule (cf. Lynch 1978b).
- ³ I recorded one case of /ao/, in /naoleh/ *coconut-grater*, but I suspect that this may be a transcription error; note Capell's transcription /noete/ *things, goods, possessions* was recorded by me as /noute/.
- ⁴ Fifty-one percent of verbs are vowel-initial: 17% begin with /e/, 15% with /o/, and 14.5% with /a/. The most frequent verb-initial phoneme, however, is /t/; almost 25% of verbs in the accompanying vocabulary begin with /t/.
- ⁵ These changes were examined in some detail in Lynch 1975, where some historical explanation was attempted. The fact that the function of this oral/nasal alternation in Sie differs from its function in other Oceanic languages is not relevant to the present discussion.
- ⁶ Capell (MSa:57) suggests that there is a singular imperative prefix *e-* which alternates, in some unspecified way, with a zero prefix. If correct, this would suggest that the form *etu-* in the negative imperative singular is in fact *e-* (imperative singular) + *tu-* (negative).
- ⁷ It should be further noted that there appears to be considerable variation in Sie verbal forms: both Capell and I have recorded not only variation in certain forms between different individuals, but also variation in the same

individual's speech — particularly in the first person non-singular forms, and particularly in tenses (like the far past) which are not used very frequently.

- ⁸ It is possible, however, that -i is the 'close' transitive suffix (<POC *-i) and -ŋi is the 'remote' transitive suffix (<POC *aki[ni]) (Pawley 1973). The formal similarity between transitive suffix -ŋi and instrumental preposition ŋi suggests that this interpretation may well be correct; however, lack of adequate data — or language change? — makes it impossible to make a decision at present.
- ⁹ Capell lists a locative prefix u- in forms such as neai *sky*, u-neai *in the sky*. Whether this prefix is still productive is a matter for further investigation; however, numerous locative nouns are u-initial: Capell lists, for example, untimne *fortified place*, and uneveyegom *birthplace*, but also notes a number of other words which have an apparent u- prefix but which are not locative: ulaŋ *a fly*, umitar *rainbow*, urivine *moth*, and a number of others. Similarly, initial i- or y- occurs frequently, and in circumstances which suggest that it may have been a prefix, but again with no clearly discernible meaning or function (Capell MSA:14-15).
- ¹⁰ The dual and trial pronouns in Tanna, for example, show a pronoun root, which may never occur alone, followed by a numeral suffix which, though *historically* related to the numerals 'two' and 'three', can not be considered even as a shortened form of the numeral; in Lenakel, for example, the numerals are kiu *two* and kʰisil *three*, while the dual and trial suffixes are respectively -lau and -hel.

As we saw above (section 2.1.2.), there is a distinction between dual and plural in the first person forms of the verbal subject-marking prefixes. This suggests that Sie may well have once had at least a singular/dual/plural distinction in the pronouns, but that this has subsequently been lost.
- ¹¹ Sie thus shares with the Tanna languages a numeral prefix which is homophonous with the third person non-singular verbal prefix, the form in all the Tanna languages being k-.
- ¹² Note, for example, Lenakel nien nɪkok *my coconut (as food)*, nien nɪmwok *my coconut (as drink)*, and nien tahak *my coconut (general)* as examples of this distinction.
- ¹³ Capell gives this form as eni, which is identical to the third person singular form of the possessive. His MS grammar also gives eniror as a plural form: nimo eniror ovateme *the men's houses*. I did not record either of these two usages.
- ¹⁴ Compare this with similar developments in the other Southern Vanuatu languages. In Lenakel, for example, the regular epenthetic vowel inserted between unacceptable consonant clusters is /ɨ/ (phonetically a mid or high central vowel, depending on the previous consonant). However, in possessive constructions, -k *my* requires that a preceding epenthetic vowel be /o/, while -m *your* (sg.) requires the epenthetic vowel to be /a/.
- ¹⁵ The form av-...hai *brother* is a compound of av- *friend* + hai *one*, with the possessive pronoun being suffixed to av-.
- ¹⁶ Capell states that the comitative preposition du occurs with singular noun phrases, with dal being used with both singular and non-singular noun phrases. I have not recorded dal.

- ¹⁷ Capell gives *tie*, which is probably an older form. One of my informants used *sie* rather than *se*, suggesting a probable historical sequence *tie* > *sie* > *se* which is not yet complete.
- ¹⁸ The most complete treatment of the idea of the echo-subject prefix in the Southern Vanuatu languages may be found in Lynch in press. There it is shown that, in Lenakel at least, a kind of switch-reference similar to that encountered in Papuan languages also operates in at least some of the languages of Southern Vanuatu, though, since these languages have SVO order rather than the SOV order common in Papuan languages, the superficial resemblances between the two systems are slight. All of the Southern Vanuatu languages for which some kind of echo-subject marking has been recorded use the prefix *m-*, which is obviously historically related to POC **ma* and. Whether *m-* results from the contraction of conjunctions such as *Sie im*, however, is another question.

CHAPTER 3

SIE VOCABULARY

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents all the Sie lexical data that are available at the present time. These data derive from Capell's manuscript dictionary (Capell MSb) and from information collected by Lynch, some of which has been published elsewhere (Lynch 1974). Section 1 is a Sie-English listing, while section 2 comprises an English-Sie finderlist.

0.1. Orthography

The orthography used in this wordlist is that established in chapter 1. However, there are certain problems which need to be drawn to the attention of the reader, and certain orthographic decisions which have been taken which need to be mentioned here. These mainly concern rephonemicisation or respelling of forms listed in Capell (MSb) and not recorded by Lynch.

Vowel epenthesis, discussed in section 1 of the grammar, causes a number of problems. There are a number of cases where Capell shows a form with interconsonantal *e* where Lynch recorded only open transition, and in at least some of these cases Capell also records antepenultimate stress, indicating that his *e* is truly epenthetic. In cases where Lynch has not recorded an equivalent form, but where other evidence suggests that an interconsonantal *e* is epenthetic, (for example, the stress pattern, the presence of related forms without the *e*, and so on) this has been omitted from the form. Thus Capell's *tevási*, for example, is rewritten *tevasi*. Similarly, some cases of apparently epenthetic *u* before *w* and *i* before *y* have also been omitted.

Variation between *s* and *h*, also discussed in section 1 of chapter 1, has been handled in the following way: (a) where no variation has been recorded, that form is listed; (b) where one form is predominant (usually the form with *h*), only that form has been given; (c) where true variation has been recorded, both forms are given.

Various diacritics used by Capell (e.g. stress marks, *u* for the nasalised allophone of /*o*/, *ò* for the lax allophone of /*o*/, etc.), have been ignored here as subphonemic variants.

0.2. Abbreviations and conventions

The following abbreviations are used in both sections of the vocabulary:

adj.	= adjective	pro.	= pronoun
adv.	= adverb	rel.	= relative
Bisl.	= Bislama	s.o.	= someone
cf.	= compare	sp.	= species
conj.	= conjunction	sth.	= something
dem.	= demonstrative	trans.	= transitive
esp.	= especially	usu.	= usually
intr.	= intransitive	v.	= very, verb
Introd.	= introduced	var.	= variant
k.o.	= kind of	voc.	= vocative
n.	= noun	w.	= with
prep.	= preposition		

0.2.1. Sie-English listing

A number of abbreviations and conventions used in section 1, the Sie-English list, should be briefly explained here. The list itself is organised as follows: first the Sie morpheme or (idiomatic) phrase, then an indication of its grammatical category, then a source, and finally the English glosses with cross-referencing and other information.

Sie morphemes are given in their root form. In Capell's MS, a number of verbs are given with initial n (the nominalising prefix); this n has been omitted in this list, but the abbreviation [n] at the end of the English gloss indicates that it was so written in Capell (MSb). Two homophonous morphemes with unrelated meanings are distinguished by following numerals; e.g.:

esevi 1.	v C	<i>fill up (hole in ground)</i>
esevi 2.	v C	<i>gather fruit, pluck fruit from tree</i>

Where a morpheme has two different but probably semantically related glosses, these are distinguished by numerals only in the gloss portion of the entry, and grammatical abbreviations and sourcing are only entered in later parts of the entry if they differ from the first such entry; e.g.:

agan	v	1. <i>be bitter, sour</i>
		2. <i>be angry</i>
meluglug	a L	1. <i>soft, flexible</i>
	v C	2. <i>speak kindly</i>

Compounds or idioms involving the form are entered under the main form and indented; e.g.:

armai	a L	<i>good [C:aremai]</i>
armai-veh	a L	<i>beautiful</i>
nam armai	C*	<i>advice</i>

Grammatical information is given following the form. The following abbreviations for grammatical categories are used:

a	=	adjective
av	=	adverb (excluding temporals and locationals)
c	=	conjunction

d	=	demonstrative
i	=	interjection
l	=	locational
n	=	noun
p	=	preposition
pr	=	pronoun
q	=	quantifier
t	=	temporal
v	=	verb
va	=	verb or adjective (data insufficient to determine)

A question mark is used where the category is unclear. No indication of grammatical category is given for affixes or for (idiomatic) phrases.

The source of the item is given in the next column. The following abbreviations are used:

L	=	recorded by Lynch
C	=	recorded by Capell and found in Capell (MSa,b)
CR	=	recorded by Capell (MSb) and marked by him as having been recorded by the missionary Rae

Where a form listed in Capell (MSb) has been orthographically modified according to the principles laid down in 0.1. above, this is indicated by an asterisk (thus C*, CR*). Where no source is given, this indicates that both of us agree on the spelling of the form.

A considerable amount of cross-referencing has been attempted in the English glosses. The following examples will serve to illustrate this:

avgat	v L	<i>fight, war</i> [C:n/avogat]
aseviongi	v C	<i>scatter, throw</i> [cf. sevigongi] [n]
amurep	v L	<i>live, be alive</i> [var. of omurep]
av-	n	<i>friend</i>
av-...-hai	n L	<i>sibling of same sex, brother of man, sister of woman</i> [cf. hai; possessive suffixes added between av- and -hai, e.g. avunghai <i>my brother</i> , avenhai <i>his brother</i>] [C: avensai]
aks	n L	<i>axe</i> [Bisl.]

The avgat example shows both that Capell has recorded a different form (avogat) from that recorded by Lynch (avgat), and also that he listed it with initial n (n/avogat). In the aseviongi example, following the cross-reference to sevigongi, the symbol [n] indicates that this verb was recorded by Capell with the nominalising prefix n-; the root, however, is listed without the n-. The next example shows that the form amurep has a variant omurep. The av-...-hai example gives a complex discussion of a grammatical irregularity. Finally, the abbreviation Bisl. in the aks example indicates that the word has been borrowed from Bislama (Vanuatu Pidgin English).

0.2.2. English-Sie listing

The English-Sie section of the vocabulary is a finderlist and not a dictionary. In many cases, a number of Sie forms are given as equivalent to a single English form; the exact range of meaning of each of these forms should be checked in the Sie-English section. Because it is a finderlist, little grammatical or sourcing information has been given. Where necessary, however, English words have been marked according to their part of speech.

1. SIE-ENGLISH

A

- afeyodoŋi v C *hire*
 afiafi v C *entwine*
 agan v 1. *be bitter, sour*
 2. *be angry*
 novse-n n-agan C *enemy*
 agau av C *aimlessly, amiss, at*
 random [n]
 agayoŋi v L *want*
 agiŋi v CR *pretent to strike by*
 raising hand [n]
 ago a *sharp*
 agumsu a *black*
 agur v C *mourn, lament* [also
 akur]
 aharahar a L *smooth*
 ahau n L *husband* [cf. ahawo-]
 ahawo- n L *husband* [C:asuo-n?]
 ahor v L *call out, cry out*
 [C:asor]
 ahorsag v C* *shout aloud* [cf.
 ahor + -sag]
 ahuwo v L *paddle, row* [C:asuwo
 L:or-ahuwo = 'a paddle']
 or-ahuwo n L *a paddle* [wor-ahuwo?]
 ai v L *blunt* [cf. aiye]
 aiip a C *thin, meagre* [n]
 ail v L *shed the skin* (e.g. of
 crab)
 aintuŋu v L *very blunt* [cf. ai]
 aiye v C *blunt* [cf. ai]
 aiyoŋ va CR *crouched* [n]
 aks n L *axe* [Bisl.]
 alam v 1. *swell, swell up*
 2. *grow up, be full grown*
 3. *come to a head (of boil)*
 nam alam C *law, statute*
 selatalam n C *street*
 alaŋalau v L *beget*
 alaŋkau v L *look around, turn the*
 head [C:n/elaŋkau]
 alawoŋi v C *vomit, spew* [cf.
 elua] [n]
 alegep v C *embrace* [n]
 alegolegi v C *obey, keep an*
 order [n]
 alegon v C *reap, gather* [n]
 alei v L *lie down* [C::ale]
 alei-patemos v C* *fall sound*
 asleep [cf. alei]
 aleipo v L *sleep* [C:ale-yepo;
 cf. alei]
 alni v C *fold up* [cf. talni]
 alou v L *run, flee* [C:alo]
 als i v L *chew* [C:alesi]
 alug v L *flow quickly*
 alul v L *play*
 aluo- n *child of sibling of*
 opposite sex, niece, nephew
 am v *say, speak*
 amarat v L *be sick*
 ametet v L *fear* [C:n/emetet]
 amiap v C *perish, be extinct* [n]
 amlai v L *lie, tell lies* [cf. am]
 amlu v L *be crazy*

- amon v C 1. *hide, be hidden*
 va C 2. *secret, private* [n]
- amprog v L *steal, thief* [C:
 n/umporogoni]
- ampuni v C *suck, give suck* [n]
- amsi v L *comb*
- amsog av C *openly*
- amtitoqi v L *fear* (trans.) [C:
 n/imtetoqi; cf. ametet]
- amurep v L *live, be alive* [var.
 of omurep]
- amwap v CR *yawn* [n]
- angaihaq v L *float* [cf. orgaisag?]
- aqesau a C *barbed* [n]
- aqka n L *anchor* [Bisl.]
- aqkau v C 1. *go round* [n]
 a C 2. *crooked*
- aqon a C *wild, savage* [n]
- aqot v L *itch*
- aqri v L *cry, weep, shed tears*
 [C:aqeri]
- apa a C *abundant, plentiful*
- aragai v C *be angry* [n]
- arangkowi v L *bend*
- are v C *make excuses*
- arekiqi v C* *make light of* [C:
 are kiqi]
- arekisah v C* *do evil* [C:are kisah]
- arenowan v C* *quarrel* [C:are nowan]
- arequ v C *feast* [n]
- ari v C *rule* [n]
- arimram n L *banana* sp.
- ariovoiyu a C *cool* [n]
- arki v L *break*
- armai a L *good* [C:aremai]
 armai-veh a L *beautiful*
 nam armai C* *advice*
- arolim a C *numb* [n]
- aromgor a C *poor* [n]
- aroqi v C *clean a road of under-*
growth [n]
- aropon v C *hide*
- aroven v C *trim the lamp wick*
- arovin v C *clean fish* [n]
- arufo v *sing*
- arvarve a L *light (in weight)*
 [n]
- asai v C *open* (trans.)
- asevioqi v C *scatter, throw* [cf.
 seviogoni] [n]
- asiasye a CR *smooth, level* [n]
- asioqi v C *refuse, begrudge*
- asoki v C *mount, go aboard, leap*
on [cf. soki]
- asomperi v C *pick out, select*
- asul n L *husband*
- atevanai v C *foam at the mouth*
- atki v *strike, pound*
- atkisa v L *keep going, strive,*
try, be determined [C:n/atekisah]
- atnatnati v C *blast, wither* (trans.)
- atnemi v C *visit*
- atqap v L 1. *taste, sip* [cf.
 ateqavui] 2. *take soundings* [C:
 n/ateqap]
- atqavui v C* *taste, sip* [cf.
 atqap, teqavui]
- ator a C *arranged, in line* [n]
- atovnin v C *name*
- atuitui a C *envious* [n]
- atutu noqum v C *foam at the mouth*
 [n]
- au v L 1. *burn, cook* (intr., or
 trans. if subject is fire)
 2. *be cooked*
- aueselogwi v C *feel grieved* [n]
- aueterimlu v C *drunk, be* (esp.
 w. kava) [n]
- aueyauwi v C *signal by waving* [n]
- auwaruwi v C *quarrel, contend* [n]

av- n *friend*

av-...-hai n L *sibling of same sex, brother of man, sister of woman* [cf. hai; possessive suffixes added between av- and -hai, e.g. avughai 'my brother', avenhai 'his brother'] [C:avensai]

ava i C *indeed!*

avan v *walk*

avan-ŋo v C *walk another way*

avan-wi v C *pass by*

avanavan v C *be unstable, insecure*

avatar n C *destruction*

aveni v C 1. *be last, be finished*
n C 2. *end*

averi v C *aid*

avgat v L *fight, war* [C:n/avogat]

aviaviya a C *bald, smooth* [n]

avitol v L *answer*

avlar a L *red* [C:n/avilar]

avlesi v C *surround* [n]

avlogi v C 1. *wonder* [n]
2. *be wonderful* [n]

avogoni v C *feed, suckle, nourish*
[n]

avoret va C *accursed* [n]

avorogi v L *blow a gale (of the wind)*

avos v C *rejoice*

avrimogi v C *place together, join, unite*

avrivu v C *encompass, surround* [n]

avrug v L *cough*

avsi v *squeeze, wring out*

avsilni a C *withered, shrunken (as limb)* [n]

avsorog a C *stout, fat, sleek* [n]

avtar v C *decay*

avtit v C *meet one on the road*

avui v C *sprinkle with water*
[also n/avuwi]

awau va L *warm*

D

dal p C *with, in company with*

dan n *day (= period of time)*

dan dvat L *Thursday*

dan eworum C *Saturday*

dan hai C* *some day, sometime*

dan mido L *Sunday*

dan namarinu L *peacetime*

dan su C *always, everyday*

dan sukrim L *Friday*

dau n C *banana leaf wrapping*

de n *blood*

dehel q L *three* [C:desel]

dehel-oni q L *third(ly)* [C:desel-oni]

denmori n L *banana sp.*

denug n L *garden, field* [C:denuo]

denyug n C *reed, cane grass*

detewo- n C *father's sister*

deve q *how many?, how much?*

devsi C *near, in the direction of*

devulmoleh n L *rice*

dinm- n L *mother* [3rd singular is dinme] [C:dineme]

dinme pelag C* *mother's sister*
[C has dineme]

divkau n L *fishhook*

dogu 1. n L *shoulder-blade* [C:togu]

dogu 2. n L *axe*

domo 1. n C *stranger, foreigner*

domo 2. a 1. *hard (= not soft)*
strong, firm 2. *wild*

domo-su a L *difficult, hard (= not easy)*

domp- n L *liquid, oil* [C:dompon]

domp-ni- n L *milk* [C:dompon ni]

domp-on nei L *sap, gum* [C:dompon
ne]
doŋon n L *banana sp.*
doŋoroŋo- n L 1. *finger, toe*
2. *branch* [C:doŋoroŋon]
doŋoroŋo-nei n L *twig, small branch*
[C:doŋoroŋon ne]
doŋoroŋo-no- n L *toe* [C:doŋoroŋon
nowan]
doŋoroŋo-noru- n L *finger*
dou n L *ship*
du p L *with* (comitative) [C:udu]
duru q *two*
dur-oŋi q C *second*
duru-ŋo q C *two of each*
duru-su q C *both*
nowomti duru C *legless*
dvat q L *four* [C:devat]
dan dvat L *Thursday*
dvat-oŋi q C *fourth(ly)* [C:
devatoŋil]
dve q L *how many?, how much?*
[=deve]

E

eduavu a C *foolish, vain* [n]
efaliliput v C *lie down on one's*
side with feet drawn up
efalimput v C *draw back the hand*
efefinte v C *save, cause to keep*
or be kept
efi- C *causative prefix*
efiegodoŋi v C *part, divide*
efielentoŋi v C *forgive*
efioŋi v C *distribute*
efitorilki v C* *carry back* [cf.
torilki]
efitur v C *raise up*
efiwari v C *constrain*
efogeraru v C *be in doubt, be*
distressed, troubled, puzzled
[also fogeraru] [n]

ehapi v C *count, read* [C:espi]
ehe v C *run*
ehavo a L *white* [C:n/esevo 'pale,
white'; cf. ohovo]
ehlon a L *thin* [n]
ei 1. v C 1. *grow dim* [n]
2. *lose sight (of eye)*
[n]
ei 2. i L *no* [cf. eyi]
eiti v *bind, tie*
ekik v C *foam (of sea)*
elah v C *go first*
elampalam v C 1. *open the eyes* [n]
2. *get one's sight*
[n]
elampe v C *awake*
elampia v C *turn away* [n]
elani v C *escape, avoid*
elarki v C* *look intently at* [n]
elasag v C* *look up*
elasapun v C *fail to find*
elasivian a C *licentious* [n]
elatop v C 1. *bite* [n]
2. *be ravenous* [n]
elavogevog v C *murmur, whisper,*
grumble [n]
elegon a C *wise* [n]
eleli v C *take down (as roof of*
house)
elepon va C *separate, apart* [n]
elesagepon v C *neglect, be hidden*
[n]
elesi v C *pursue*
elgavi v L 1. *hold, catch, snare,*
grip 2. *arrive at, reach*
[C:n/elegavi]
eli v C *sound a shell trumpet* [n]
eliluo a *dirty, unclean, impure*
elimiselu v C *wallow* [n]
elimsi v L *blow (of wind)* [C:
n/elemse, n/elimse]

elintevi ▽ C *tear with teeth* [n]
 elintoqi v C *love*
 elintoroqi v C *hold with teeth*
 elioṅsi v C *light up, enlighten* [n]
 elioṅsiqi v C *light up, enlighten* [n]
 elirau a CR *active, brisk* [n]
 elki v *tie, tie up, tie and hang up*
 elkiwan v C* *hang oneself* [n]
 eloṅ a *thin, lean* [n]
 eltirit v C *clench the teeth* [n]
 elua v L *vomit* [C:n/eluo]
 elvog a *dark* [n]
 elvogvat a L 1. *dark* 2. *blue*
 (C:elevoevat; cf. elvog)

 emaietompun v C *bring forth (of earth)* [n]
 emedoṅ v L *rest* [C:n/emidoṅ]
 emeviag v *dream*
 emlu 1. a C *mad* [n]
 emlu 2. a C *tame* [n]
 emolsep a C *calm, gentle* [n]
 empag n L 1. *south*
 1 L 2. *southwards*
 empaiamtoqi v C *hedge round* [cf. nempai] [n]
 empasewoqi v C *order, salute, farewell* [n]
 empatap n L 1. *north*
 1 L 2. *northwards*
 empavik v L *mumble*
 empelamp 1 L *there*
 empen v L *smell* (intr.)
 empen-sat a C *evil-smelling* [n]
 empen-veh a L *fragrant, sweet-smelling* [C:n/empenves]
 nei-empen n L *sandalwood*
 empgo v *dance*
 empu v L *smell* (intr.)

emsoṅ a C *forked* [also imsoṅ] [n]
 en L *possessive-marker* [C:eni]
 enempon a C *dumb* [n]
 eni 1. v *eat, bite*
 eni 2. *his, her, its* [cf. en]
 eninvaṅ v L *eat* [cf. eni + nvaṅ]
 enom v L *run, flow*
 enompe v L *run, flow*
 enor v L *sweat, perspire*
 entume v C *remember*
 enuasomperi 1. v C 1. *explain*
 2. *reveal, show*

 enuatompeni 2. v C *accuse*
 enuatompeni 3. v C *remit, forego* [n]
 enuavsoqi v C *encourage, exhort*
 enwi v L *speak* [C:enuwi]
 epoipo v C *get strong*
 erautiti v L *break into small pieces*
 eravluqi a C *battered, smashed* [n]
 ereveni v C *draw, pull, attract* [n]
 eseivasi v L *buy*
 esepau a C *ignorant* [n]
 eseraqi v C *laugh for joy*
 eserem v C *fall (of leaves, rain)* [also aserem]
 eseri a C *broken, split* [n]
 esesau v C *fight, riot, quarrel* [n]
 esevi 1. v C *fill up (hole in ground)*
 esevi 2. v C *gather fruit, pluck fruit from tree*
 esevoli v C *rub with hand* [n]
 esiṅo v C *envy* [n]
 esitu v C *help, assist* [n]
 esomsah v L *breathe*

etaiyi v C *carve* [n]
ete v L *live, dwell*
etegohevo v C* *become white* [n]
etehep v L *sit* [C:tesep]
eteluogɪ v L *pass (by)* [cf. oseluogɪ]
etenom v L *dive*
etegeveram v C *rise up and attack*
etepi v C *pare (as orange)*
eterimlimlu a C *weak* [n]
etetalam v L *be old (of persons)*
etevogom v C *fast from food* [n]
etevuraveh a CR* *ready* [n]
etiompene a C *secret, hidden* [n]
etiomponuar a C *mysterious* [cf. etiompeni] [n]
etior v C *sweep* [n]
etm- n L *father* [C:iteme-n]
etnitovom v L *cook, roast* [cf. otni, tovom]
etoqoli v L *swallow*
etovtam va CR *well-dressed* [n]
etpont a L *cold* [C:n/etepont]
etpont-vat-su L *very cold, frozen* [cf. nvat + su]
etri v L 1. *stab* 2. *shoot with gun or stone* 3. *sew, mend, fasten* [C:teri]
etromoro v L *be lazy* [cf. netromoro]
etu v L *heal*
etur v L *stand* [C:tur]
eturatopeni v C *appear* [n]
etutavniri a C *faithless, sceptical* [n]
etuai t C* *a short time ago (near past)*
etvani v L *spit, expectorate* [C:n/etevani]
evarevarivi a C *brisk* [n]

evatum v C *inherit* [n]
even a C *empty* [n]
evieyevyeve v C *care for oneself* [n]
evieyowar a C *safe* [var. of eyowar] [n]
eviomnug v L *be thirsty*
evip v L *rain* [C:n/eviv]
evivat a L *thick* [n]
evlami v L *urinate*
evloqɪ v C *beat against, dash against* [n]
evoregor v C *tremble* [n]
evovu v C *feed animals* [n]
evsemevsemoqɪ v C *prophecy, fore-tell* [n]
evsi v C *pull out (as weeds)*
evuli v C *bespatter with mud*
eworum C cf. dan eworum, *Saturday*
eyep v L *descend, go down*
eyetavsivsi v C *tie on*
eyevan v C *stretch out the hand*
eyevi v C *comfort*
eyi i no [cf. ei 2.]
eyoimpeliqɪ v C *err* [n]
eyoqɪri v C* *harass, worry* [C:eyoquri] [n]
eyowar a C *safe*
eyuguyeki v C *blot out, annihilate*
eyumparum va C *wide awake* [n]

F

fan n *flesh, substance*
fan lou C* *chief*
fan lou nusian C* *high chief*
fan nahiven C* *nice-looking woman*
fan nam C *meaning of a word*
fan nau ituqa C* *blade of a knife*

fan neteme C 1. *healthy, well-made man* 2. *a man able to do sth.*
 fan nimt- L *face*
 fan nmap C* *arable ground*
 fan noki L *coconut*
 fan nomurep C *living, long life*
 fetnapu n C *fingernail, toenail*
 [cf. fewonamu]
 fewonamu n CR *fingernail, toenail*
 [cf. fetnapu]
 fonfati n L *tree sp.*

G

gimpit n L *fish sp.*
 gulpei n L *fish sp.*
 gumen n L *fish sp.*
 gumpam n L *yam sp.*
 guneyai n L *banana sp.*

H

hai q *one, other, a certain, different* [also sai]
 dan hai C* *some day, sometime*
 hai im hai C *each* [also sai im sai]
 haimo q L *one (only in counting)*
 [also saimo]
 haimomu q L *once more* [cf. momu]
 hai sesai L *something* [C:sai se sai 'anyone (of persons)']
 haiteven q *one only* [also saiteven]
 haiteven-ŋo q C *one of each*
 [also saiteven-ŋo]
 nempŋon haimomu L *once more, once again*
 hoŋkuse av L 1. *how?*
 p L 2. *like* [cf. soŋku]

I

idav v C *annoy*
 -idi C *bad, evil* [intensive suffix]
 idowi t *always*
 ikri a L 1. *shallow* [C:ikeri]
 n L 2. *shallow water, shore, reef at low tide* [C:ikeri]
 nempou ikri CR *scorpion* [cf. nempou; CR:nempo ikeri]
 ilampe l C *there*
 ilasivrevor v C *be in trance* [n]
 ilaswi a C *bright, clear, beautiful* [n]
 ilat l 1. *out, outside*
 p L 2. *outside*
 ilepalam av C *slowly*
 ilevog C cf. tog ilevog, *inlet of sea*
 ilpalam a L *deep*
 iluvau l C *in the desert*
 iluwa v CR *make a light by means of a torch*
 iluwawi n CR *grassland, plateau*
 ilvote- n L *in the middle, between*
 [C:ilvoteven]
 im c *and*
 ima 1. d C *that* (dem.pro.) [= mah 2.]
 ima 2. c L *then, and then*
 imeluo l *above*
 tantop imeluo C *depth*
 imlaŋ v C *be divided, set at variance* [n]
 imo d *this, near speaker* [var. of iyimo?]
 impamu n C *infant*
 impiriŋi v C *betray, deceive* [n]
 impwap n C *bottom, underneath*
 imroŋ a C *timid* [n]

- imru a C *averse, contrary* [n]
 imtarongroŋ v CR *collapse, faint* [n]
 imtei a C *blind* [n]
 imtemas v C *shut an eye, as in aiming* [n]
 imtipat a L *blind* [n]
 imtodi a C *weak-eyed* [n]
 inyar n C *fir tree*
 iŋar v C 1. *be firm, be hard to move* [n] 2. *labour with child* [n]
 iŋelelau n C *family, kindred*
 iŋko l *here*
 iŋkraitog n L *fish sp.*
 iogevhap v C *stir up water* [cf. yeovgap] [n]
 iowe i C *alas!*
 ipat a L *blind, deaf*
 ipe-kik i C *'that was your concern'*
 ira- p form of ra, q.v.
 iranse av C* *why?* [C:irantie]
 irauhag v L *jump, leap* [C: n/irausah]
 ire t *today*
 iri v CR 1. *hover (as a bird)* [n] 2. *hesitate* [n]
 iror pr *they*
 iror-ŋo *they alone*
 isor v L *copulate*
 isuma ? *enough, ended, quite*
 isut l 1. *far*
 p 2. *far from*
 it c C *for, because*
 it- L *adjectival prefix*
 itaih 1. n L *moon* [also itais 1.]
 itaih 2. n L *grandfather* [also itais 2.]
 itais 1. n *moon* [also itaih 1.]
 itais 2. n *grandfather* [also itaih 2.]
 itale a C *tired, wearied*
 itemaghi n C* *father-in-law* [cf. netemaghi]
 itemam n C *father-in-law*
 itemas n C *gift*
 itemas pau C *love gift, grace*
 itemelepon a C *easy* [possibly it- + melepon/melpon]
 itemelogwi n C *back of knee*
 iteovugi a C *abominable, exceedingly evil*
 itepelum a C *easy*
 iterovat a C *worm out, old*
 itetuai 1. t 1. *before, long ago, in the past*
 a 2. *ancient* [cf. etuai]
 itnahiven a L *female* [cf. it- + nahiven; C:itnasiven]
 itnasiven C *also* [itnahiven?]
 itnatman a L *male* [cf. it- + natman; C:itnateman]
 itnesoŋ a C *true*
 itnetemepe a C *firstborn (of males)*
 itnimpris a C *ancient*
 itnumpogon n C *maiden*
 itogo a L *which?*
 itpelag n C* *exterior* [cf. pelag]
 itse a C *beaten*
 nmah-itse n C* *native cloth* [C:nemasitse]
 itsongku a C *crude*
 ituŋa a L *foreign* [C:itoŋa]
 nau ituŋa L *knife* [C:nauituŋa]
 ituremas a C *dead*
 itvirog 1. n L *father's brother* [cf. it- + virog]
 itvirog 2. n L *younger child* [cf. it- + virog; C:itevirog]
 iya l *where?* [C also gives ia, yei]

iyauyau a C *haughty, proud, having swinging gait* [n]

ieye 1 C *where* (rel.adv.)

iyempa n L *fish* sp.

iyempe d L 1. *that*
1 L 2. *there*

iyevi v C *bicker*

iyevwos 1. v C* *make fire by rubbing sticks* [CR:eivuwos] [n]

iyevwos 2. v C* *promise* [cf. viwos] [n]

iyi pr *he, she, it*

iyihi d 1. *this*
1 2. *here*

iyimo d L *this, near speaker*

iyur a C *variegated* [n]

iyuwi d C 1. *that (at some distance)*
1 C 2. *there* [also yui]

K

kam pr *we* exc. [C also gives ka]

kapel n C *tin vessel, mug*

kavrag va L *hidden*

kesitah n C *piece (of money)*

kik pr *you* sg.

kik-e-pau i C *greeting, lit. 'you are dear'*

kik-pe-kik i C *'please yourself'*

kilikil n L *fishhook* [C:kilekil]

kimi pr *you* pl.

kineduavu i C *'you empty fellow!'* [cf. eduavu]

kirikiri n C *beads, necklace (of beads)*

kitan 1 C *behind, backwards*

kou c *but*

ko 1 C *'yes, it's true'*

koh pr L *we* inc. [C:kos, ko]

kom n L *comb* [Bisl.]

kosai ? C *alone* [cf. sai]

ku c 1. *or*
2. *question-tag*

kumala n L *sweet potato* [also kumara]

kumara n L *sweet potato* [also kumala]

kuntawi c C *except, in order not* [also kutawi]

kuri n *dog*

kurimatau n C *animal, bull, bullock, cow* [cf. kuri]

kutawi c C *except, in order not* [also kuntawi]

kutivin n L *fish* sp.

L

lale C cf. nete lale, *bow of boat*

-lap *temporary action*

las C cf. netegon las, *ocean bed*

lat n L *fat* [cf. nelat]

latorgowut n L *lungs*

lau a *dry*

laulau a L *hard (=not soft)* [cf. lau]

lavalava n L *lavalava* [Bisl.]

lawasisi a L *rotten*

leiri n L *banana* sp.

leleh n L *rope*

ompi leleh L *braid rope*

letremte n L *fish* sp.

levi-tantop n L *middle finger*

lili n L *sweet potato* sp.

lou n L 1. *canoe* [C:lo]
2. *kingdom, people* [C:lo]

fan lou C* *chief*

fan lou nusian C* *high chief*

louveli n L *canoe*

nompun lou C* *multitude*

wai lou C* *paddle a canoe*

louko n L *yam* sp.

lovosmosop a L *rotten*
luquluqeve v C *make merry*

M

m c *and*
ma c C *that* (purposive) (=in order that)
mado n L *bowl for mixing kava*
mah 1. v L *die* [C:mas]
mah 2. d L *this, that, previously referred to*
maii va C *dim, almost blind, not seeing clearly*
malia n L *yam sp.*
malogol v C 1. *offend, be offensive*
n C 2. *offence*
mampum n L 1. *in front (of)*
a L 2. *first*
man- n L *brother of woman* [C:man]
maqipai v C *mock*
marima t *now*
marima-ŋo t C *immediately*
marog n L *yam sp.*
maroqi v C 1. *quit, leave, rebel*
p C 2. *from*
mas n L *mast* [Bisl.]
masiqi v C *die (?)* [C quotes Genesis 49:5; cf. mah]
masumperi v C *spread out*
masuri n C *heel*
matuitui 1. v C *envy*
matuitui 2. v C *be obstinate, persistent*
maveli c L *later, then, next, till, to* [C:mafeli]
mavrempor n C *closed grave*
mayu 1 L *there*
mayuwi 1 L *there*
mehkai q L *six* [C:meseikai]
mei pr L *who?* [C:me]

meima pr L *who?* [cf. mei]
meluglug a L 1. *soft, flexible* [C:melolo]
v C 2. *speak kindly* [C has melolo]
melyar a L *yellow*
menug n L *bird* [C:menuo]
menug sat C* *the swallow* [C has menuo sat]
meseiqi av C *directly, without delay*
mesen n L *fish sp.*
mesesiai ? C *utmost*
mesi n L *pawpaw (papaya)*
meveh n? L *right (hand)* [C:mevis]
mido L cf. dan mido, *Sunday*
mitnoŋ t v *early*
mode t L *Monday* [Bisl.]
mogop- n L *grandchild* [C:mogopon]
mogopunap n L *worm*
momo- n L *roof* [usu. mompon-n nimo]
mompon n C *opening (in ground), entrance*
ra mompon C *inside, under*
mompono- n L *foot* [cf. no-]
momu a *more* [esp. in comparatives]
monogowo i C *yes!* (emphatic)
moŋkevu n C *ashes*
moŋkum n L *fish sp.*
mori 1. n L *tree sp.* [=C:more, 'acacia used for bow-making']
mori 2. d *this, that, previously referred to* [functions as a relative pronoun]
mori nimpe C *that - the one over there*
moruŋo a C *stronger*
mosi n *star, planet*

mosi talimet CR *star*
 mou n L *liver*
 movog n L 1. *outrigger boom*
 2. *rafter*
 mowap n L *fog, mist* [C:moap]
 mran t *tomorrow*
 muri v C *follow*

MW

mwor n? L *left hand* [C:mor]

N

n- nominaliser
 nadimai 1. n CR *black soil*
 nadimai 2. n CR *rheumatics*
 nadmai n L *tree* sp. [CR:nadimai]
 nafini- n C *forehead*
 nafioŋi n C *occupation, trade*
 nafog n C *bud, budding*
 nafolian n C *an exceptionally fair person*
 nagah n L *cold season (May-July)*
 [C:nagas]
 nagan n C *anger, enmity* [cf. agan]
 nagave n L 1. *kava* [C:negave]
 va C* 2. *drunk* [C:negave]
 nagle- n C *egg* [as in naglen netuo
 'hen's egg']
 nagop n C 1. *cloud*
 a C 2. *cloudy, dull (of weather)*
 nagur n C 1. *mourning*
 2. *grave memorial* [cf. agur]
 nahiven n L *woman* [C:nasiven]
 fan nahiven C* *nice-looking woman*
 nahiven tavu C* *sorceress*
 nahividi n C* *bad woman* [cf.
 -idi; C:nasividi]
 nahor n *cry* [cf. ahor; C:nasor]

nahorsag n C* *loud shout* [cf.
 ahorsag]
 nahvu n L *turtle* [also navu]
 naiis n C *calm, abatement of storm*
 naitompun n C cf. naitompun
 semsemag, *gathering, flock,*
shoal
 naiwa n L *tree* sp.
 naked n L *axe*
 nakik n *foam*
 nal n *mud, mire, bog*
 nalalau n *young child* [cf. nalau]
 nalam n CR *tumor, boil* [cf. alam]
 nalau n *child, infant*
 nalau ra topavo C *illegitimate child*
 nalau virog L *young child*
 nale L cf. novuan nale, *immature coconut*
 nalegolegi n C *obedience* [cf.
 alegolegi]
 nalegon n C *harvest time* [cf.
 alegon]
 naleipo n *sleep* [cf. aleipo]
 nalimaŋ n L *egg*
 nalinoŋ n L *dog*
 naliŋ 1. n C *son*
 naliŋ 2. n C *surname*
 nalniniwar n C *bowels, entrails*
 nalpe n L *tree* sp.
 nalul n L *game(s), play* [cf. alul]
 naluvien n C *longing for food*
 nam n *word, message, language,*
speech [cf. am]
 fan nam C *meaning of a word*
 nam alam C *statute, law*
 nam armai C* *advice*
 nam naŋkauintan C *allegory,*
parable

- nam nompuvsog C *testimony*
 nam oroŋ C* *boast* (n)
 namsag n C* *bravado* [cf. nam, -sag]
 nam semet C *the last word*
 nam umesuli C *apology*
 nam unam C *oath*
 nam wogon C *boast*
 nipmi nam C *tittle, iota, jot*
 oseluŋi nam C* *ignore*
 potgon nam C *a few words*
 selnivi nam C *law*
 sevet nam C* *boast* (n & v)
 naman n L *tree* sp.
 namarat n *sickness* [cf. amarat]
 namarinu n L *calm, calm sea* [C: nimorinu]
 dan namarinu L *peacetime*
 namen n C *little piece*
 namen nvaŋ C* *crumb*
 nametet n L *fear* [cf. ametet; C:nemetet]
 namlai n *lie, falsehood* [cf. amlai]
 namolin n C *shadow*
 namon n L *circumcision*
 ompi namon C *circumcise*
 namonamon n C *form, image*
 namou n L *mother! my mother; uncle! my mother's brother; aunt! my mother's sister* [C:namo]
 nampelet n C *hanger-on, parasite*
 nampo- n L *place, situation* [C: nampo/n]
 nampo-n-pentop C *cooking place* [cf. pentop]
 nampontan n C *cornerstone* [also nampotan]
 nampotan n C *cornerstone* [also nampontan]
 namponunevau n C *bottle*
 nampoŋ n C *fruit good on outside but bad inside*
 namprog n L *thief* [cf. amprog; C:numporog]
 namri n C *ague, rigor*
 namtah n C *dam, obstruction, shutter*
 namte 1. n L *coconut past stage of ripeness; flesh hard to eat*
 namte 2. n C *a lie*
 namtimte n C 1. *seaweed*
 2. *sponge*
 namtitoŋi n *fear* [cf. amtitoŋi; C:nimtetoŋi]
 namurep n L *life* [cf. amurep]
 nanom n *mat made of coconut leaves*
 ompi nanom L *weave*
 nagai n *canarium* sp. ('almond')
 nagaiwaine n L *fish* sp.
 naŋal n L 1. *tree* sp. 2. *arrow* (made from naŋal tree?)
 nagelau n C *work that is difficult, trouble, travail*
 nagesau n C *arrow* [cf. agesau]
 nagi- n L *vagina*
 naŋkau n C *error* [cf. aŋkau]
 naŋkauintan C cf. nam naŋkauintan *allegory, parable*
 naŋkauŋi ? C *around* [cf. aŋkau]
 naŋkrai n L *flying fox* [C:nogkerai]
 naŋku c 1. *if*
 c C 2. *when (future)* [probably n- + irrealis form of ogu 'say']
 naŋri n C* *lamentation* [cf. aŋri; C:naŋeri]
 naoleh n L *coconut grater*
 naporoŋi n L *fishing line* [C: neforoŋi]

- naputan n C 1. *outside corner, ridge of house* 2. *keel*
 naragai n C *anger* [cf. aragai]
 naragar n C *jealousy*
 naram n L *banana* sp.
 narar n C *flat surface*
 narekidi n C *persistent evildoer* [cf. -idi]
 narep n *artery, vein, sinew*
 nariqari n C *feast, festival, banquet*
 nariqi n C *praise, fame, renown*
 narioven n C *sound of wind*
 nariovoiyu n C *gentle breeze, zephyr* [cf. ariovoiyu]
 narisag n C* *ruler, chief, master* [cf. ari, -sag]
 narogas n C *brimstone*
 naromprom n C *shame, bashfulness*
 narufo n C *song* [cf. arufo]
 narvin n L *sand* [C:narevin]
 narweri n C *air, atmosphere*
 narwolem q L *ten* [C:narolim]
 narwotu n L *east wind* [C:norowatu]
 nasau n C *distress, sorrow, trouble*
 nasemnuo n C *gardener, farmer*
 nasimnalam n C *wife of chief, mistress*
 nasiwan n C *under the chin* [possibly nasiwa- ?]
 naspi n C *a lick*
 natau n C 1. *anything hanging down* 2. *a swing* [cf. tainatau] 3. *amulet*
 nate n L *father! my father; uncle! (father's brother)*
 natemas n C *spirit, ghost*
 natemasvai n C 1. *stone brought to the island & used in sorcery* 2. *sorcery* [cf. natemas]
 natemonog n C *chief*
 natemovot n C *mist*
 natipotni n C *beginning* [cf. potni]
 natki n C *a blow, boxing* [cf. atki]
 natkisa n *compulsion, effort* [cf. atkisa; C:natekisah]
 natmahidou n L *ring finger*
 natman n L 1. *man, male* 2. *male, masculine* [C: nateman]
 natogeves n C *juice (dried) of the naqai tree*
 nator n C *arrangement* [cf. ator]
 natorevam n C *coconut shell arm-let*
 natuqa n L *south wind*
 nau n 1. *bamboo* 2. *knife*
 fan nau ituqa C* *blade of knife*
 nau ituqa L *knife* [C:nauitoqa]
 nauegomwi n C *contention, quarrel*
 naueroqis n C *bamboo whistle* [cf. nau]
 nauevitavu n C *before the dawn*
 nauor n C *discussion, debate*
 naupe n L *swamp* [cf. also nawipeh; C:nauipe]
 naupwan n L *fishing net* [C: nogopon]
 nauwarogi n CR *debate (friendly)*
 navanavan n C *fugitive, wanderer* [cf. avan]
 navelah n C *stone money* (not now in use)
 naveri n C *helper* [cf. averi]
 naverimpor n C *burial mound* [cf. nmaprimpor]
 navgat n L *war, battle* [cf. avgat; C:navogat]
 navia- n 1. *voice* 2. *sound*
 navia-n-sag n C* *loud voice or sound*

- naviat n *soul, spirit*
 naviat-idi n C *evil spirit* [cf. -idi]
 navivon n C *dust*
 navivon nei C* *sawdust*
 navivon nvaŋ C* *crumb of bread*
 navles n C *keeper, guard* [cf. avlesi]
 navloŋi n C *wonder* [cf. avloŋi]
 navlutnin n C 1. *tip* 2. *head of arrow* 3. *finger tip* 4. *end of a road*
 navnaŋai n L *fog, mist, haze* [CR:navinoŋai]
 navoret n C *plague* [cf. avoret]
 navos n C *joy* [cf. avos]
 navra- n L *mouth* [C:navera/n]
 navra-n nur L: *hole* C: *valley* [C has naveran nuru]
 navranowa- n L *neck, throat* [cf. nowa-]
 navransi- n L *anus* [cf. si-]
 navrimoŋi n C *union, alliance* [cf. avrimoŋi]
 navrug n C *cough* [cf. avrug]
 navu n L *turtle* [also nahvu; C: navau]
 navugvug n L *bread*
 nawipeh n L *pool, lake* [cf. also naupe; C:nauipe]
 ne 1. v L *produce children*
 ne 2. C* cf. nehkil ra ne, *bêche-de-mer*
 neai n C *sky, firmament*
 neat n C *bundle, sheaf*
 nedoŋ n L *tree* sp.
 nedrap n L *hibiscus* sp.
 nedu n L *tree* sp.
 neduavu n C *nonsense* [cf. eduavu]
 nefani n *bow (weapon)* [cf. also nevani]
 nefaroŋi n C *bond, cord*
 nefati n C *scaffolding, altar*
 nefielentoŋi n C *pardon, forgiveness* [cf. efielentoŋi]
 neforefari ? C *out of the way*
 neforoŋi n C *thief, robber*
 nehawati n L *volcano*
 nehe n C *rain*
 neherop n L *ripe coconut* [C: neserop *coconut milk*]
 nehkil n L *snake* [C:nesekil]
 nehkil ovuroŋ C* *centipede*
 nehkil ra ne C* *bêche-de-mer*
 nei n L 1. *tree* 2. *wood, firewood* [C:ne]
 domp-on nei L *sap, gum* [C: dompon ne]
 doŋoroŋo-nei n L *twig, small branch* [C:doŋeroŋon ne]
 navivon nei C* *sawdust*
 nei-empen n L *sandalwood*
 nelompoi nei n C* *large piece of wood, beam* [C:...ne]
 neko 1. n C *beetle*
 neko 2. n C *small piece of wood for beating cloth*
 nelampalam n C *eyesight* [cf. elampalam]
 nelas n C *bowstring*
 nelasamroŋi va CR *changeable*
 nelasivian n C *desire, lust* [cf. elasivian]
 nelasivian-sat n C* *lust*
 nelaswoni n C *heavy weakness in sickness*
 nelat n L 1. *meat, flesh* [cf. lat]
 n C 2. *prey, human flesh for cannibal feast*
 nelavenuri n C *understanding*
 nelegon n C *wisdom* [cf. elegon]
 nelempwohe- n L *trunk (of tree)*

- neleni n C *thong, band, bond*
 nelileki n C *serious illness*
 nelintoqi n C *love* [cf. elintoqi]
 nelit n CR *axe handle*
 neliwo n L *fish sp.*
 nelman n L *outrigger float*
 nelni n CR 1. *small hole in ground*
 2. *eye of needle*
 nelompoi nei n C* *large piece of wood, beam* [cf. nei]
 neloqeloqveh n C* *grace, kindness*
 nelpat n CR *bar at river mouth built up of stones*
 nelpavinu- n L *forehead*
 nelponvat n CR* *cliff* [CR: nelponnevat]
 nelponta- n L *back*
 nelpwo-noru- n L *arm*
 nelu- n L *penis*
 neluam- n L *tongue* [C:neluamen]
 neluam-en nom C *blaze*
 nelve- n L *tooth*
 nelvogvat n L *darkness* [cf. elvogvat; C:nelevogvat]
 nemedq- n L *chest (part of body)*
 nemedoq n L *rest* [cf. emedoq; C:nemidoq]
 nemeluglug n L *softness* [cf. meluglug; C:nemelogelo]
 nementoq t L *six days ago/hence*
 nemetu n C *dead wood, firewood*
 nemeviag n C *dream* [cf. emeviag]
 nemlaq n CR *something that falls off*
 nemlap n L *tree sp.*
 nemlewoqo n C *thornbush* [cf. nemliwa-]
 nemli cf. novuan nemli, *anklebone*
 nemliwa- n L 1. *thorn* [cf. nemlewoqo]
 n CR* 2. *spur on fowl's leg* [CR:nemluo/n]
 nemolsep 1. n C *ease, patience* [cf. emolsep]
 nemolsep 2. n C *tableland, plateau*
 nemote n C *village*
 nempai n C *fence*
 nempaiamtoqi n C *round enclosure* [cf. empaiamtoqi]
 nempaiveh n C* 1. *good fence*
 2. *blessing* [cf. nempai]
 nempalegi n C *threat*
 nempari n C *grass sp. carried in hands as charm*
 nempasewoqi n C *order, salute, farewell* [cf. empasewoqi]
 nempati n C 1. *canine tooth of pig* 2. *horn of animal*
 nempes n C *oyster shell*
 nempgo n C *dance* [cf. empgo]
 nempgu- n L *buttocks*
 nempilior n C *faeces, excrement*
 nemplaq n *butterfly*
 nemplaq-empo n L k.o. *large butterfly*
 nempqon n 1. *time*
 c L 2. *when*
 nempqon haimomu L *once again*
 nempogelah n C *marriage*
 nempou n L *shark* [C:nempo]
 nempou ikri CR* *scorpion* [cf. ikri; CR:nempo ikeri]
 nempri- n L *rib*
 nemratau n CR *thorny parasitical plant*
 nemsoq n C *confluence of rivers* [cf. emsoq]
 nemtaqi n L *wind* [C:nemetaqi]
 nemtaqi netpont C* *cold wind* [C:nemetaqi netepont]
 nemtaqi oroq *hurricane, strong wind*
 nemtempes ? C *one-eyed*

- nemtorilki n C* *backslider, apostate* [cf. torilki]
- nen n 1. *sun, sunshine*
n C 2. *dryness, drought*
- nen-otni n C *scorching sun* [cf. otni]
- nipmi nen C *orb of rising or setting sun*
- nenempar n C *fair weather*
- nenman n L *dew, moisture*
[C:neneman]
- nenom n L *high tide*
- nenomsep n L *swamp*
- nenor n C *perspiration, sweat*
[cf. enor]
- nenparati n L *peace*
- nenuapogefo n C *grumbling, murmuring*
- nenum n L *wet season (January-April)*
- nenumimpwap n L *dry season (August-December)*
- nepoipo n C* *restored to health*
[cf. epoipo, C has nepoiepo]
- nesegar n C *feast*
- neseparer n C *oversight, error*
- nesepau n C *stranger* [cf. esepau]
- nesesau n C *riot, fight, quarrel*
[cf. esesau]
- nesesim n C 1. *backbone*
2. *diameter*
- nesevi n C *gathering of fruit*
[cf. esevi 2.]
- nesip n L *kidney(s)*
- nesitu n C *aid, assistance* [cf. esitu]
- nesituesitu n C *in succession*
- nesomsah n C *sigh, shortness of breath* [cf. esomsah]
- yevi nesomsah L *be short of breath*
[cf. yevi 1.]
- nesuriaru n CR *two baskets supported by a stick across shoulder*
- nesusah C cf. nu nesusah, *boiling water*
- nesuvlog n C *stretcher, portable bed*
- net- n L *egg*
- netagli n C* *obstruction, stumbling block*
- netai n L 1. *tattoo* 2. *book, esp. bible* [cf. netaiyi]
- netaiyi n C 1. *writing* 2. *book*
[cf. etaiyi; cf. also netai]
- netausep n C *clothes, dress*
- nete n C *abode, residence* [cf. ete]
- nete lala n C *bow of a boat*
- nete nur C* 1. *abode* 2. *field*
- nompunete C* *stony ground, heap of stones*
- netegon n C *bottom, base, foundation* [possibly netgo-]
- netegon las C *ocean bed*
[possibly netgo-n las]
- netemaghi n L *father-in-law, son-in-law* [C:netemagesi; cf. itemaghi]
- neteme n *person, man (=human being)*
- fan neteme C 1. *healthy, well-made man*
L 2. *a man able to do sth.*
- neteme taviar C *magician*
- neteme-tavu n L *medicine man*
[C:netemtavu]
- tavu neteme n C *witchdoctor, sorcerer*
- netemohog n L *brother-in-law (wife's brother, sister's husband)*
- netegon p C *underneath, below*
- netevaru n C *thought, meditation*
- netevote n C *goods, possessions*
- netevulul n C *an invalid*

netiomponuar n C *mystery* [cf. etiomponuar]
 netivurah n C *serving, distribution*
 netnim n C *belly*
 netnim tog C *depths of the sea*
 netnivri n C *commonest sort of native club*
 novuan netnivri C *round-headed club*
 netqo- n L *the inside of sth.*
 netoetiŋi n C *loincloth, belt*
 netoutau n L *range of mountains*
 netpeh n L *body of water not open to sea; pool, lake*
 netpont n *cold* [cf. etpont; C: netepont]
 nemtaŋi netpont C* *cold wind* [C:nemetaŋi netepont]
 netralam n CR *dropsy*
 netriho- p L *far behind*
 netromoro n C *trouble, distress* [cf. etromoro?]
 netsieti n L *yam sp.*
 netuavtar n C *immortality*
 netukus n L *salt* [C:natukus]
 netuo n *fowl, chicken*
 netuo- n L *aunt, father's sister*
 neturapum n C *giant, very tall man*
 neturarki n C* *spy*
 neturatompeni n C *apparition* [cf. eturatompeni]
 neumparum n C *cross, made w. two pieces of wood*
 neumtau n L *tree sp.*
 nevaiidi n C *bad feeling, quarrel*
 nevaiveh n? C* *blessed*
 nevani n L *bow (weapon)* [cf. also nefani]
 nevar n C *load, burden*

nevasi n C *trade, commerce*
 nevatum n C *goods enclosed in receptacle* [cf. evatum]
 nevelam n C* *arrival* [cf. velam]
 nevelevele n C *remembrance, meditation*
 neveli n C *cave*
 neven n L *eel (freshwater)*
 nevenoki n C* *empty coconut* [cf. even, noki]
 nevenoki-nompum n C* *skull* [cf. nompum]
 nevenouki n L *kava plant*
 nevente n C *departure*
 nevenwane n L *fish sp.*
 nevi 1. n *year*
 nevi 2. n *childless married person, widow after a few months, girl (L), marriageable young person (C)*
 neviarep n C *young man*
 neviompui n C *widow*
 nevietivesep n C *commendation, laud*
 nevievri n C *accusation*
 nevieyeveyeve n C *preservation* [cf. evieyeveyeve]
 nevieyowar n C *safety* [var. of neyowar; cf. evieyowar]
 nevip n L *rain* [cf. evip; C: neviv]
 nevivak ? C *looking displeased*
 nevlah n L *crab*
 nevlog n *bed, table, shelf*
 nevlogo- n 1. *arm, wing*
 2. *branch*
 neylon n *bracelet, necklace*
 nevlogkon n C *piece, division,*
 part
 nevnamel n L *marrow*
 nevoregor n C *trembling* [cf. evoregor]
 nevsem 1. n C *joint, hinge*

- nevsem 2. n C *underchief*
- nevsī n C *extraction (e.g., of tooth)* [cf. evsī]
- nevuvent n C *wall* [cf. novuvent]
- neworekireki n C *narrow road, small gate*
- neworemisat n C *jealousy, murmuring*
- neyo n L *tree* sp.
- neyoimpeli 1. n C *mischievous, disturbance*
- neyoimpeli 2. n C *lowering (of sky)*
- neyoimpeliqi n C *error, false report* [cf. eyoimpeliqi]
- neyori n C *nuisance, bother*
- neyowar n C *safety* [cf. eyowar]
- ni- 1. n *breast(s)*
 domp-ni- n L *milk* [C:dompon ni-]
 nipmi ni- C *nipple, teat*
- ni- 2. n *name*
- nidemah n L *tree* sp.
- nie n C *stringy edible root resembling yam*
- nielogelōg C* cf. nmah nielogelōg *sackcloth*
- nievuos n C *promise*
- nilar n 1. *light, daylight, day*
 2. *lamp*
 nilarveh n *bright light*
- nilaru n L *tree* sp.
- nilas n C *worm, grub, maggot*
- nilasilaswi n C *beauty, glory* [cf. nilaswi]
- nilasivrevor n C *meditation, reverie* [cf. ilasivrevor]
- nilaswi n C *brightness* [cf. ilaswi]
- nilorogon n C *thorn*
- nilpalam n L *deep water* [CR:ilpalum 'deep water, anchorage'; cf. ilpalam]
- niluwo n C *torch made of dried coconut leaves* [cf. iluwa?]
- nimalgep n C* *house unfit for habitation* [cf. nimo]
- nimlaŋ n C *disagreement, broken friendship* [cf. imlaŋ]
- nimo n *house*
 nimo noŋkoŋko C *prison* [cf. oŋkoŋko]
 nimo tantop C *tower*
 nimo tompor C *church*
 nimo utam C *shrine*
- nimpe 1 C *beyond, nearby*
 mori nimpe C *that - the one over there*
 noŋkon nimpe C *on the other side*
- nimpen n C *sparrow (?)*
- nimpiau n *wave, swell of sea*
- nimpiri n CR *betrayal, false friend* [cf. impiriqi]
- nimram n L *tree* sp.
- nimroŋ 1. n C *want of courage* [cf. imroŋ]
- nimroŋ 2. n C *abomination, thing to which one is imru (q.v.)*
- nimru n C *refusal* [cf. imru]
- nimsi- p *benefactive, for*
- nimt- 1. n *eye, face* [3rd sing. form nipmi]
 fan nimt- L *face*
 nipmi nam C *tittle, iota, jot*
 nipmi nen C *orb of rising or setting sun*
 nipmi ni- C *nipple, teat*
 novse-n nimt- C *eye* [cf. novse-, nimt-]
 ta-n nimt- C* *eyelid* [C:tan nipmi]
 tantevi nimt- C *to insult*
- nimt- 2. n *price, reward* [3rd sing. form nipmi]
- nimteī n C *blindness* [cf. imteī]

- ninomu n L *tree* sp. [C:nimonu]
 nintelep n C *river, valley*
 ninu t *yesterday*
 niṇako n L *fat, oil, grease*
 [C:niṇaku]
 niṇaverag n C *lizard*
 niṇeven n C *scale, scab*
 niṇoi t 1. *when?*
 c L 2. *perhaps*
 nipiēse n L *tree* sp.
 nipleple n L *tree* sp.
 niram n L *club* [C:nirum]
 niromunta- n L *dorsal fin*
 nis n CR *front teeth of upper & lower jaw*
 nisa L cf. ra nisa, *last, behind*
 [C:ra nesah]
 nisgo- p *benefactive, for*
 nisoṇ n L *inside*
 nit- n *child, son, daughter, child of sibling of same sex* [3rd sing. form netni]
 niteloṇ n C *gourd, pumpkin*
 niteve- n L *shin, tibia*
 nival 1. n L *areca, betel nut*
 nival 2. n L *mast* [C:neval]
 nivili n C *earring*
 nivorig n L *width (?)*
 nivuo 1. n *steering paddle, rudder*
 nivuo 2. n C *underchief*
 niyar n C *meat, flesh (animals and fish)*
 nmah 1. n L 1. *clothes* [C:nemas]
 2. *sail of canoe or boat* [C:nemas]
 nmah-itse n C* *native cloth*
 [C:nemasitse; cf. itse]
 nmah nieloṇeloṇ C* *sackcloth*
 nmah 2. n L *low tide*
 nmah 3. n C* *death* [cf. mah]
- nmap n L *earth, ground* [C:nemap]
 fan nmap C* *arable ground*
 nmaprimpor n CR* *cemetery*
 [cf. naverimpor]
 nmar n L *breadfruit (fruit & tree)*
 [C:nemar, mar, mara]
 no- n L *foot, leg* [C:nowo/n]
 doṇoroṇo-no- n L *toe* [C:doṇoroṇon nowan]
 ta-n no- C* *instep* [C:tan nowan]
 nog i L *yes*
 nogesam n C *a hard polishable wood*
 nogesenpup n C *sign, evil omen*
 [cf. nogesinepup]
 nogesinepup n C *a wonder* [cf. nogesenpup]
 noghi n *sight, vision* [cf. oghi]
 noghisat n C* *hatred* [cf. -sat]
 nogil n C *dry coconut*
 nogini n C *damage, injury*
 nogo n L *tree* sp.
 nogoi L cf. novuan nogoi, *banana* sp.
 nogol n C *hole* [cf. ogol]
 nogolaṇ n C *grubbing (as a pig)*
 [cf. ogol?]
 nogolenta- n L *skin*
 nogoletni- n L *belly, stomach*
 nogolista- n C *skin* [n]
 nogoloṇ- n L *lip* [C:nogologo/n]
 nogolowog n C *pigeon*
 nogopon n C *aunt; nephew, niece*
 nogopurum n C *serpent*
 nogori- n L 1. *side, edge, border, horizon* [C:nogore/n]
 p L 2. *between, near*
 ra nogori- *beside*
 nogoroṇi ? C *across* [cf. ogoroṇi]
 nogowo av C *how?*
 noguṇo n L *road*

- noguog n L *octopus, squid*
 nogut n *flea, louse*
 nogve- n L *hand* [C:nogove/n]
 nogve-n nu CR *tributary (of a river)*
 noh n L *rope, string*
 nohorat n C 1. *tree sp., yielding red dye* 2. *the dye so yielded*
 nohoru n C* *pain, sorrow, grief, trouble* [cf. ohoru]
 nohuo n L *yam sp.*
 nointanwi n C *wise man*
 noki n L *coconut tree* [C:nogi]
 fan noki n L *coconut*
 nokili n C *knowledge* [cf. okili]
 nom 1. n *fire*
 neluam-en nom C *blaze*
 nom 2. a L *fast, quick(ly)* [C:it/num]
 nomeh t L *day before yesterday* [C:noweme]
 nominmin n L *salt*
 nomiug n L *earthquake* [C:nomiog]
 nomkai n L *dry coconut* [C:nomgai]
 nomni n C *gall bladder*
 nomni noŋenoŋ C *to crouch (as animal)*
 nomonki n C* *drinking, drunkenness* [cf. omonki]
 nomorun n C *valley, glade*
 nompago n C *warrior*
 nompe t L *four days ago* [cf. nowumpi]
 nompelat n C *grass skirt, characteristic of Erromangan women*
 nompelepes n C *crown of head*
 nompeleveh n C* *alms, blessing*
 nompŋahi n L *pig* [C:nompŋasi]
 nompŋuntom n C* *expense, charge, burden* [cf. ompŋuntom]
 nompī n C *action* [cf. ompī]
 nompīdi n C *evil deed, evildoer* [cf. -īdi]
 nomplat n L *pandanus*
 nompog n C *feeling of heaviness* [cf. ompog]
 nompompunum n L *earth oven*
 nomporei n C *brain*
 nompou n? C 1. *deep*
 n C 2. *furnace*
 nompravu n L *west wind*
 nompri n C *sea-shell*
 nompū- n *head*
 nompū-n lou C* *multitude*
 nompū-n nete C* *stony ground, heap of stones*
 nompū-n noŋu-n C* 1. *point*
 2. *beak*
 nompū-n noŋu-n nu C* *headland, cape*
 nompū-netru n L *knee* [C:nompun neteri/n, kneecap]
 nompū-noru- n L *elbow, shoulder*
 nompū-nva- n L *thigh* [C:nompun nevan, thigh-joint]
 nompū-n topavo L *grass* [cf. topavo]
 nompuahai n L *island*
 nompuaŋgor n C *garland, crown*
 nompumetuo n C *old age* [cf. ompumetuo]
 nompunaran n L *friend, neighbour* [C:nompun naran]
 nompurag n C* *deed, work, action* [cf. ompuragŋi]
 nompuragīdi n C* *misdeeds*
 nompuragveh n C* *good deeds*
 nomputan nimo n C *chief cornerstone*
 nompuvsoŋ n C *witness, testimony* [cf. ompuvsoŋ]
 nam nompuvsoŋ C *testimony*

nompuwo n L *mountain* [C:nompuo]
 nompwau n L *cloud, mist* [C:nompua]
 nomtidan n C *daybreak* [n- + omti + dan]
 nomu n *fish*
 nomukam n L *sun*
 nomuklevieh n L *fish* sp. [cf. nomu]
 nomukninen n L *fish* sp. [cf. nomu]
 nomunagan n L *fish* sp. [cf. nomu]
 nomurep n *life* [cf. omurep]
 fan nomurep C *living, long life*
 nomutra n L *fish* sp. [cf. nomu]
 nona t L *three days ago* [C:nowima]
 noŋenoŋ C cf. nomni noŋenoŋ, *to crouch (as animal)*
 noŋkli- n L *leaf* [C:noŋkeli/n]
 noŋklinadimai n CR* *ailment akin to rheumatism* [cf. nadimai 2.]
 noŋkon q *some, remainder*
 noŋkon nimpe C *on the other side*
 noŋkon noŋkon C *halves of a thing*
 noŋkon oŋo su C *goods*
 noŋo-nom n L *smoke* [C:noŋon nom; cf. nom 1.]
 noŋoti n *bêche-de-mer, sea-slug*
 noŋoukoupwa n L *banana* sp.
 noŋu- n L 1. *tooth* [C:noŋo/n; cf. oŋu]
 n C* 2. *beak*
 nompu-n noŋu-n C* 1. *point*
 2. *beak*
 nompu-n noŋu-n nu C* *headland, cape*
 noŋun n L *entrance* [cf. noŋu-?]

noŋunselat n L 1. *door, doorway* [C:noŋon selat 'doorway']
 2. *road* 3. *passage, bay, harbour* [cf. selat]
 noraiyu n C *shadow, shady place*
 norari n C *flow (of a river)* [cf. orari]
 noremismis ? C *flickering (of a flame)*
 norituŋa n L *north wind*
 norivgai n L *fence*
 norivsau n C *ladder*
 norŋi n C* *hearing, feeling* [cf. orŋi]
 norgisat n C *anxiety* [cf. orŋisat]
 norŋompunu n C* *grief, distress, bereavement* [cf. orŋompunu]
 noroitu n C *hurricane*
 noror n C *something only heard of*
 noru- n L 1. *hand* 2. *branch*
 doŋorono-noru- n L *finger*
 nompu-noru- n L *elbow, shoulder*
 noru-n nei L *branch of a tree*
 noruwo n C* *swimming* [cf. oruwo]
 noruwogi n C* *washing* [cf. oruwogi]
 nosas t L *five days ago* [C:nowisas]
 noura- n L *bone* [C:noira/n]
 nousam n L *tree* sp.
 nousap n C* *flood* [cf. ousap]
 sil-nousap C *drain, ditch*
 nousensi- n L *guts, bowels, intestines* [C:novsinsi/n]
 noute n L *things, possessions, cargo, goods* [C:noete]
 novahap n L *bay, harbour* [C:novasap, nevasep]
 novar n L *wall*

- novelranu n L *fish* sp. [cf. novle]
 novkilien n C *husk, chaff*
 novlaimpgo- n L *tail*
 novlaivi- n L *tail*
 novle n L *fish* sp.
 novlesenti n C *escort*
 novli- 1. n *sore, ulcer*
 novli- 2. n L *feather*
 novlimet n L *eyelashes, eyebrows*
 [cf. CR:novlimit]
 novlira- n L *body hair, fur*
 [C:novelira/n]
 novlitmi n CR *eyebrow*
 novlohuo n L *seaweed*
 novlompu- n L *hair of head*
 [cf. nompu-; C:novlimpu]
 novloq- n *beard*
 novlovsi n *grass*
 novnen n L *a particular star*
 novo 1. n C *grass* sp., *long and thin*
 novo 2. i C *swearword* ('it's hanging down')
 novoh n L *banana (fruit and tree)*
 [C:novos]
 novoqon n C *flower*
 novosi n L *smoke* [cf. ovosi?]
 novse- n *seed*
 novse-n n-agan C *enemy* [cf. agan]
 novse-nietu- n L *testicles*
 novse-n nipmi C *eye* [cf. nimt-]
 novse-n togesoveli C *enemy*
 novsirian ? C *least*
 novsoguampo- n L *jaw* [C: novsogiwappe]
 novo n L *god* [C:nobu]
 novu- n L *fruit*
 novua- n 1. *fruit* 2. *seed*
 novuan nale L *immature coconut*
 novuan nemli C *anklebone*
 novuan netnivri C *round-headed club*
 novuan nogoi L *banana* sp.
 novum C cf. ra novum, *first*
 novuvent n C *stonewall* [cf. nevuvent]
 nowa- n *neck*
 tai nowan C *to comfort*
 nowatni- n L *root* [C:nowatni/n]
 nowomti ? C *one-legged* [cf. ogowomti]
 nowomti duru C *legless*
 nraqaon n L *animal*
 nu n *water*
 nogve-n nu CR *tributary (of a river)*
 nuitogli n C *well* [cf. ogli]
 nulimt- n *tears* [3s is nulipmi; cf. nimt-]
 nu nesusah C *boiling water*
 nunmah n L *low tide* [cf. nu, nmah 2.; C:nunemas]
 telqo-n nu C* *bank of a river*
 nuf a L *fat*
 nufwaki n C *worship* [cf. ufwaki]
 nugumori n L *yam* sp.
 nuloqon n C *variety, species*
 numera n C *arithmetic* [Introd.]
 numpulou n L *tree* sp.
 numureh n L *fish* sp. [possibly nomureh; cf. nomu]
 nunu L cf. omonki nunu, *suckle (as child)*
 nuqonom n L *tobacco* [cf. nom 1.]
 nup n *yam*
 nur n L *place, land* [C:nuru]
 nete nur C* 1. *abode* 2. *field*
 nur wogon C* *desert*

nurag n L *land animal* [C:nurah]
 nurah n C *thing, article, object*
 nurian n C *judge, court* [cf.urian]
 nurie n C *follower*
 nuru C cf. tai nuru, *to be at the point of death*
 nusian a C 1. *large, plenteous* [n-usian?] 2. *high* 3. *powerful*
 fan lou nusian C* *high chief*
 nuval n C *fat*
 nuvnei n L *manioc, tapioca, cassava* [cf. nup, nei; C:nup ne]
 nuwa n L *digging stick, adze*
 nva- n C* *thigh* [C:neva/n]
 nompu-nva- n L *thigh* [C:nompun nevan, thigh-joint]
 nvaŋ n C* *food*
 namen nvaŋ C* *crumb*
 navivon nvaŋ C* *crumb of bread*
 nvat n L *stone* [C:nevat]
 etpont-vat-su L *very cold, frozen* [cf. etpont, -su 1.]
 nworopatevi n C *condemnation* [cf. woropatevi]

ŋ

ŋi p *instrumental preposition, with, by (means of)*
 -ŋi *transitive suffix*

O

o i *yes*
 oetet a C *lame* [n]
 ogalar va C *fixed, fast, aground*
 ogep v *fly*
 ogeritwi v C *wonder, be amazed at*
 oghai v L *look at* [cf. oghi]
 oghi v L *look, see, find* [C:ogesil]

oghidi v C* *despise, disparage*
 oghingo ra C* *look out through*
 oghisat v C* *despise, hate*
 oghiveh v C* *receive favourably, desire greatly*
 ogli v L *dig* (trans) [cf. ogol; C:ogeli]
 ogol v L *dig* (intrans) [cf. ogli]
 ogologŋi v C *prostrate oneself* [cf. ogol?]
 ogoroŋi a C *broad* [n]
 ogote v C *stay for a short time* [cf. ete]
 ogovsep v L *come ashore*
 ogowomti a C *maimed* [n]
 oguroŋi v L *put sth. in the way so as to block the path*
 ogu v L *say* (esp. quotations)
 ohori 1. v L *be broken*
 ohori 2. v L *be bald*
 ohoroŋi v L *look for*
 ohoru v L *be in pain* [C:n/esoru]
 ohovgi v L *rub*
 ohovo a L *white* [cf. ehevo]
 okili v L 1. *know* 2. *know how to, be able (to)* [C:ogili]
 okilisevat v C* *doubt, hesitate*
 okini v C *entice, draw away* (trans)
 olaviagoŋi v C *devour*
 olehera- n L *body* [C:nogilisira/n]
 olen v C *blow (a shell trumpet)*
 oltayou n L *little finger*
 omanuinam v L *breathe*
 omaŋku v L *call, name*
 omkon v L 1. *drown* (intr.), *sink* (intr.) [C:amgon, transitive sense] va L 2. *drowned* [C:n/omgon]
 omnug a L *wet*

- omgai a *ignorant, stupid, foolish*
- omgol a C *deaf* [n]
- omoiyu a C *cool, lukewarm* [n]
- omonki v L *drink* [C:monegi]
- omonki nuu L *suckle (as child)*
- ompalogi 1. v L *clean sth.* [C:n/ompelogi]
- ompalogi 2. v L *thank* [C:n/ompelogi]
- ompavian a C *mad* [n]
- ompelogi v C *join, unite, repair* [n]
- ompelut v C *be drowned* [n]
- omperitwi a C *aged* [n]
- ompguntom a L *heavy* [cf. ompog]
- ompi v *do, make*
- ompi leleh L *braid rope*
- ompi namon C *circumcise*
- ompi nanom L *weave*
- ompode n C *wild bird sp.* [cf. ompon]
- ompog a C *heavy* [cf. ompguntom] [n]
- ompoglag v L *marry*
- ompon n C *wild bird sp. of dove variety* [cf. ompode]
- omposti a C *excellent* [n]
- ompu a L *sweet*
- ompulepe a C *bald* [n]
- ompumetuo a C *old* [n]
- ompuraggi v L *work (esp. in garden), to garden*
- ompuvsog v C *bear witness* [n]
- ompwelvi n L *whale* [C:umpelevi]
- omti a C 1. *broken* 2. *ended* [n]
- omtimti a L *rotten* [cf. omti?]
- omurep v *live, be alive* [n]
- omwisu q L *all* [cf. -su 1.]
- omwol v L 1. *fall* [C:mol, omol] 2. *be born*
- on v L *be lost*
- on v C *abound, increase* [n]
- ongi p cf. gi, *instrum. preposition*
- ongi *transitive suffix* [cf. -gi]
- ongko a L *straight, erect, upright* [C:n/ongko]
- ongkongko a 1. *hard, strong* [C:n/ongkongko] a C 2. *perverse, abstruse*
- nimo nongkongko C *prison* [n]
- ongkur va C *afraid, puzzled* [n]
- ongu v C *gnash the teeth* [cf. nongu-] [n]
- opiopi n C *yam-&-cabbage pudding*
- oral v L *flow*
- oramel a C *meek* [n]
- oragi i C *interjection to attract attention of one person*
- oraqkau v L *be in pain*
- orari v *flow (of river)*
- oras a C *oval* [n]
- oravsivsiv v C *hold firmly*
- orei v L *scratch*
- oremlemlu a C *feeble* [n]
- orenvau n L *tree sp.*
- oretete n L *broom*
- oreveni 1. v C *stretch*
- oreveni 2. v C *draw water*
- orgai v L *swim, float* [C:orogai]
- orgaisag v L *float*
- orgon v L *squeeze*
- ori va C *bewildered* [n]
- orioki v L *carry*
- orisampuwi n L *comb*
- oriugi v C *lift*
- orqi v L *perceive; thus hear, smell, feel* [C:oriqi]
- orqioqi v C* *take heed*
- orqisat v C 1. *be anxious* 2. *feel sick, feel bad about* 3. *repent* [cf. -sat]

- orŋoŋi v C* *take heed* [var. of
 orŋioŋi q.v.]
- orŋompunu v C* *be sorry, mourn*
 [cf. orŋi]
- orofenuo n L *yam* sp.
- oroglaŋ n L *nose* [C:worogelaŋ]
- orogole v C *stay, lodge, sojourn*
- orokilen v C *wash the hands*
- oroŋ a L 1. *big, great, powerful*
 [C:horon]
- n L 2. *power, might*
- nam'oroŋ C* *boast* (n)
- nemtaŋi oroŋ *hurricane*
- oroŋ eni L *'it's wide'*
- oroŋtou q L *many*
- oroŋveh a C* *restored to health,*
well
- tawi-oroŋ-veh L *few*
- orsentu n L *staff, stick, crutch,*
walking-stick [C:woresentur]
- ortampraŋ n L *pillow* [C:
 woretamporah]
- oruh v L *swim, bathe* [C:oruwo]
- oruleki v C *seize, grasp, restrain*
- oruntvi v L *pinch*
- orusevi v C *break into small pieces*
- orutenmoŋi v L *sink, drown* (trans)
- oruwonŋi v *wash (clothes)*
- orvi v L *cut, hew out* [C:orevi]
- osavlahakŋi v L *turn sth. over*
- oseluonŋi v L *pass (by), hurry on*
 [cf. eteluonŋi; C:salewonŋi]
- oseluonŋi nam C* *ignore*
- otavrivri v L *forget* [cf. tavrivri]
- oteŋilaŋ n L *fly whisk*
- oti v L *give birth (to)*
- otihep v L *put*
- otni v L *cook, burn* (trans., human
 subject) [C:atni]
- nen-otni n C *scorching sun*
 [cf. nen]
- ousap v L *flow very fast, be*
in flood [C:n/oisap]
- ouyoŋ v L *awaken s.o., wake s.o.up*
- ova i C *indeed?, is that so?*
- ovanian eni n? C *arrow*
- ovasi v L *buy*
- ovgah v L *defecate*
- ovkisag v C* *lift up*
- ovkisep v C *lower, put down*
- ovlaŋkau v C *turn a corner* [n]
- ovli v C *bristle* [n]
- ovoli v *turn*
- ovolivoli v C *keep turning over,*
roll
- ovon q L *all*
- ovoŋi v *give*
- ovoŋilap v C *give temporarily,*
lend
- ovoŋovoŋ v C *determine*
- overivori v C *bore* [also
 avorevore]
- ovosi v 1. *blow, w. mouth,*
 2. *blow a fire*
- ovraŋi i C *interjection to attract*
several people's attention
- ovraŋsoŋi v C *exhort, counsel*
- ovroŋi v C *call*
- ovsen v C *cover over* [n]
- ovsor v L *awaken, wake up* (intr.)
- ovtar a C *rotten* [n]
- ovuaki v L *pray*
- ovuar v L *be full (of person or thing)*
 ovuaronŋi v C* *fill*
- ovunisoŋ v L *enter, go in* [cf.
 nisoŋ]
- ovuroŋ C* cf. nehkil ovuroŋ,
centipede
- ovwi v C *cut w. knife*

owampat a C *dumb* [n]
 owi 1. v C *leave*
 owilap v C *leave temporarily*
 owisep v C *leave behind*
 owi 2. v *plant*
 oworepatevoŋi v C *substitute* [n]
 owun v L *leave*

P

pah i C *lo!, behold!*
 pai c L *then*
 palsi n C *race, age, generation*
 pam a C *dumb, mute*
 paŋ n L *banyan* [C:nimpaŋ]
 pap n L *fish* sp.
 patinunuwap n L *tree* sp.
 patmonu n L *heart*
 pau a C *dear*
 itemas pau C *love gift, grace*
 kik-e-pau i C *greeting* lit.
 'you are dear'
 pe ? C *self* [cf. pen-]
 kik-pe-kik i C *'please yourself'*
 pelag l C *away, out* [C:pelah]
 dinme pelag C* *mother's sister*
 [cf. dinm-]
 pen- L reflexive prefix, *self*
 [cf. pe]
 penatpu n L *thumb* [C:potnatpu]
 pentop n *ashes, dust*
 nampo-n pentop C *cooking place*
 [cf. nampo-]
 penuri t *after, then, later*
 pete n L *yam* sp.
 pogop n C *sky, heavens*
 poki n L *salt-water eel*
 pokitampet n L *door* [C:pugetampet]
 pol c C *then*

polie n L *sugarcane* [cf. also
 poria]
 polku c C *when, while (past)*
 [cf. polsoŋku]
 polsoŋku c C *when (past)* [cf.
 polku, soŋku]
 poŋ p L dative preposition, *to*
 poŋi p *to* + third person
 poŋipogŋi n C *sheep*
 poŋvat a L *thick*
 popowo c C *because*
 poraporap n C *evening* [cf.
 pwarap]
 poren n L *yam* sp.
 poria n L *sugarcane* [cf. also
 polie; C:poriya]
 pot c C *for*
 pot- C *place of* [prefix of place
 potgon l L 1. *near* [cf. potpot]^{name}
 a L 2. *short* [cf. potpot]
 potgon nam C *a few words*
 potnavloŋ n L *fish* sp.
 potnewon n C *foundation*
 potni n C 1. *beginning*
 2. *ancestors*
 3. *stump of tree*
 potnimpris n C *autochthones of*
 the island, 'the ancients'
 potnomputuo n C *platform, throne*
 potpot p L 1. *near*
 l L 2. *near*
 a L 3. *short*
 v C* 4. *approach* [cf. potgon,
 C:potipot]
 pouwel n L *tree* sp.
 pruv gum n L *morning* [C:pruvogom
 'evening']
 pumrog n *night*
 pumrog ratunemis C *midnight*
 purou n L *hat*

PW

pwagah n L *day, daytime, daylight*
 [C:pwagas 'forenoon, morning']
 pwagahpwagah n C* *noon, midday*
 pwarap n *evening* [cf. poraporap]
 pwatni n L *banana* sp.
 pwoŋku n L *tree* sp.

R

ra p 1. locative and causative preposition; thus *to, in, at, on, because of* [also rai, ira-]
 c 2. *because*
 ra mompon C 1. *inside* 2. *under*
 ra nisa L *behind, last* [C: ra nesah]
 ra nogori- *beside*
 ra novum C *first*
 rai p var. of ra (q.v.)
 rampu- n L 1. *in front (of)*
 2. *on top (of)*
 ranta- n L *behind* [cf. ra, ta- 2.]
 rategomesag 1 C* *upwards*
 rategomeyep 1 C *to the bottom*
 rategompe 1 C *beyond*
 ratelvo 1 C *outwards*
 ratemran t C *on the next day*
 [cf. mran]
 ratevetui n C *hope* [cf. tevetui]
 ratilat 1 C *to the outside*
 [cf. ilat]
 ratunemis t C *early*
 pumrog ratunemis C *midnight*
 ratunisoŋ 1 C* *inside* [cf. nisoŋ]
 ravseve v C *close up*
 retp- n L *wife* [C:retepo/n]
 rori v C *capture*
 rovoŋo- n C *daughter-in-law* [n]
 ru v *stay, remain, tarry*

S

safeti v C *push* [var. of saveti?]
 safi n C *sign, mark, picture*
 safiŋi v C *measure up, liken, compare*
 sag v L 1. *climb, ascend, go up*
 [C:sah]
 v C* 2. *increase* [C:sah]
 1 L 3. *up* [C:sah]
 -sag L *upwards* [C:-sah]
 sagelevoŋi v C *hang*
 sagumulep v C *suffer*
 sai cf. hai
 sai im sai cf. hai im hai
 sai sesai cf. hai sesai
 saimo cf. haimo
 saimomu cf. haimomu
 saiteven cf. haiteven
 saitevenŋo cf. haitevenŋo
 salekilegon v C *coil round*
 sam n C *foreskin*
 sapwotu n L *fish* sp.
 sar v C *conceive (a child)*
 sari v C *attach oneself to, cleave*
 sariari v C *remit (?)* to
 sarisari v CR *hang about, be afraid*
 to come near
 sat a C 1. *bad, evil*
 n C 2. *sin*
 menug sat C* *swallow, the* [C
 has menuo sat]
 -sat C intensive pejorative suffix
 satemoŋi v C *reject*
 satevoŋi v C *drive away, divorce*
 satevroraui a C *comely, good, well-developed*
 satidi v C 1. *do evil*
 n C 2. *evildoer*
 sau n *spear*
 sauselogo 1. v C *flutter (as flag, as quickening in pregnancy)*

sauselogo 2. v C 1. *wrestle*
 n C 2. *wrestling*
 save n L *flying fish*
 savet v C *push* [var. of saveti?]
 saveti v *push* [cf. also savet,
 safeti]
 savutah n C *clan, people of same*
 place
 se 1. pr L *what?* [C:tie]
 sema pr L *what?*
 se 2. v C *face, withstand*
 sedavotni v C *persuade*
 seditog n C *first intimation*
 sediugiveh v C* *listen, attend,*
 be obedient
 sediwar n C *dislocation of joint*
 sedogon v C *roll in the hand,*
 thresh, crush
 sedogye v C 1. *influence for evil*
 2. *mock, ridicule*
 sedomsi v C *cleanse*
 sedori v C *unsheath, pull out*
 [also asidori]
 sefaintan v C *set in uproar*
 sei 1. v L *stab, shoot w. arrow*
 or spear [CR:se nomu 'spear fish']
 sei 2. n L *stick*
 sekil n C *proof*
 selah v C *slumber, be drowsy*
 selai v C *shine*
 selamejis va C 1. *overgrown*
 n C 2. *overgrown track*
 seldom used
 selat n C 1. *road, path, way*
 n 2. *door*
 selatalam n C *street*
 tai selat C *stumble, grope about*
 telgo-n selat C* *side of road*
 selemsoq n C *crossroads*
 selevelevi v C *open up, bud, spread*
 out (as sail)

selgon v C *slacken, be out of*
 joint (of bone)
 selieli v C *force, compel* [cf.
 telieli]
 selnivi n C *inside ridge of house*
 selnivi nam C *law*
 seloq v C *overflow*
 seluamen nom C *flames of fire*
 semelmel n C *expert (at shooting,*
 spearing, etc.)
 semet a C *topmost, upper*
 nam semet C *the last word*
 semevsi v C 1. *warm*
 n C 2. *scout, sentry*
 semoimo a CR 1. *lost*
 n CR 2. *lost person or*
 animal
 sempeleyogyog v C *walk w. a stoop*
 sempeliqsi v C *persuade*
 sempelog n C *joist, beam*
 sempelogeipi v C *place under-*
 neath
 sempeluo n C *nest*
 sempesempe n C *gale, tempest*
 sempia n C *fool, idiot*
 sempiri n C *deceiver*
 sempiyomti n L *Southern Cross*
 semplauon n C *garment*
 semsemag v C 1. *gather*
 n C 2. *gathering, flock,*
 congregation
 semsempari n C *shield, protector*
 semsi v C *extract*
 semsimah t L *Wednesday*
 semsimoqi v C *collect*
 semupmup v C *scent (as a dog)*
 seni v C *hide*
 seniqi v C *beg, beseech* [also
 eseniqi]
 senipmi v L *go against the wind*
 [cf. nimt-]

senteri v C 1. *seek out in order to kill*

n C 2. *one who seeks out in order to kill*

senterompeni v C *reach, arrive at*

senteroqi v C *overtake*

senti v C *cleanse*

sentiqolal v L 1. *hiccough* [C: sentiqole]

n L 2. *hiccough* [C: sentiqole]

sentop v L *tie*

sentur v C *see s.o. off on a journey*

sentvi v L 1. *wipe, rub*
2. *be clean and dry* [C: sentivi]

seranousen n L *yam sp.*

serim v C *gush out*

serogoqi v C *agree w.*

sesai n L *thing, something*

hai sesai L *something*

sesegoe v C *be open, break (a dam, etc.)*

sesenagon n C *poison*

sesi v *show*

sesieveh v C* 1. *revere, honour*

n C* 2. *reverence, honour*

sesimaqsi n L *index finger* [cf. sesi show]

sesiuwai v C 1. *prop up* 2. *be against, be leaning on*

sevasi v C *exchange*

sevet nam C* *boast* (n & v)

sevi 1. n CR *painful swelling*

sevi 2. v CR *break up, destroy*

seviogoqi v C *scatter, sow seed* [cf. asevioqi]

seyemoemo v C *dare*

seyevo v C *stumble*

seyewani v C *quit, leave, wander about*

seyoiva n C v. *small basket*

seyoviap v C *undress, take off clothes*

si- n L *excrement*

sikat va C *many*

silevog n C *room* [cf. ilevog]

sil n? C *channel(?)* [cf. next two entries]

sil-nousap n C* *ditch, drain* [cf. nousap]

sil-novanu n C *deep channel worn by water*

siman v C *prepare*

simanlo n *house in nakamal for visitors, men's house*

simsi va C *cold*

sioqunqi v C *keep*

siompu n L *comb*

sogomulep v C *torment, agonize*

sogowar 1. v C *bewitch*

sogowar 2. n C *offering, sacrifice*

sogowavi v C *haul*

soki v L *climb up, go aboard* [C: soki, sugi; cf. asoki]

sompat v L 1. *shut, close*

2. *be shut, be closed*

[C: sompwat]

v C* 3. *avert, baffle* [C: sompwat]

sompatamtoqi v C* *shut out, shut in* [cf. sompat]

sompelan v C *search eagerly*

sompeli v C *eat ravenously like a pig* (insulting)

sompelulya v C *mix, confuse, be muddled*

somplug n L *nest* [C: somplog]

sompog v C 1. *snore*

n C 2. *snoring*

sompoli v C *annul, cancel, destroy, change*

somprogum v C *splinter sth.*
 sompum netru- C* *kneel* [C:sompum
 netere/n; cf. nompu-netru-]
 soq v C *come up (of plant)*
 soqkelau v C 1. *look down from a
 height*
 n C 2. *cliff, precipice*
 soqkelowi v C *gaze at*
 soqkori v C *touch*
 soqku c C *as, like, same, also*
 [cf. hoqkuse]
 soqu v C *kiss*
 sor v C *arise*
 soremelimel v C *search (intr.)*
 soroqi v C *seek for*
 sorwavo n L *fish sp.*
 soveli v C *preserve, embalm*
 -su 1. *plural-marker, all*
 -su 2. *perfective marker*
 sukilkilwi v C *protect, save,
 deliver*
 sukrim q *five*
 dan sukrim L *Friday*
 sukrim-dehel q *eight*
 sukrim-duru q *seven*
 sukrim-dvat q *nine*
 sukrimoqi q C *fifth*
 suli v C *free, set free*

T

ta- 1. n L *skin, bark*
 ta-n nei L *bark of a tree* [C:
 tan nei]
 ta-n nimt- C* *eyelid* [C:tan
 nipmi]
 ta-n no- C* *instep* [C:tan nowan]
 ta- 2. n C *back* [cf. nelponta-]
 ra ta-n C *on, on top of*
 tadamsag v C* *increase, multiply,
 be abundant*

tadgo n C *messenger*
 tadi v C *make smooth, shave,
 plane*
 tadogon v C *bruise, pulverise*
 tafoqi v *throw, throw away*
 tagli v C *stumble*
 tagose v C *clear oneself*
 tahv L *wrap up*
 tai v *hit, strike, fight*
 tai iran C *exchange*
 tai nowan C *comfort*
 tai nuru C *be at point of death*
 tai selat C *stumble, grope about*
 taientimne n C *storey (of house)*
 taiki n L *banana sp.*
 tainar n C *boundary line, mark,
 heap (of stones)*
 tainatau n C *swing* [cf. natau]
 taipelah v L *open, be open*
 [C:tai pelah]
 taipotonei n L *yam sp.*
 taisep 1. v C *take down w. one hand*
 taisep 2. *abate (of sea, flood)*
 taitan v C* *overwork, overdrive*
 taitemne n C* *deck, terrace*
 taiwi v C *punish*
 taki v C *row*
 tal n L *taro* [C:netal]
 talam va C *grown up, adult* [cf.
 alam]
 talepasi v C *collapse, faint*
 talet va C *tangled (as a fishing
 line)*
 talevie n L *taro sp., 'Fiji taro'*
 tali 1. v C *satisfy*
 tali 2. n L *shadow*
 talimet v C *wink*
 mosi talimet CR* *star*

- taliŋi v 1. *fill*
 v C 2. *draw water*
- talni v C *fold, roll up* [cf. alni]
- talogoŋi v C *present, offer, give*
- taloŋ v C *measure out*
- taloŋi v *kill*
- tamah a L *many, big, great, abundant* [C:tamas]
- tamoli v L *send* [C:tamuli]
- tampalau n C *adultery*
- tampalsag v C* *have in abundance*
- tampeli n C *native cabbage*
- tampenemoŋi v C *succeed s.o.*
- tampeniŋi v C *punish*
- tampenum 1. v C 1. *substitute*
 n C 2. *substitute*
- tampenum 2. n C *inheritance*
- tapi v C 1. *converse*
 n C 2. *conversation*
- tapiŋi v C *tell*
- tapiŋon va C *mixed, confused*
- tampli av L *finished*
- tamplin n L *sister-in-law* (WZ, BW)
- tampoli v C *choose*
- tampompie n C *yam and fowl pie*
- tamrup v C *blow the nose*
- tampup v C *bow down, stoop*
- tamsal v C *take offence*
- tamsi v C *answer*
- tamtag v C *masticate audibly, graze (of animals)*
- tamtam n L *drum*
- tamtel n L *tree sp.*
- tanepoŋon v C *be in time*
- tanmitno- n L *foot* [cf. no-]
- tanogkon av C *throughout, from end to end*
- tanowa- n L *neck, nape of neck* [cf. nowa-]
- tanpo a C 1. *good, right, just*
 n C 2. *goodness, justice*
- tanterompeni v C *come through, go through*
- tanterum va C 1. *unoccupied*
 n C 2. *space, room*
- tantevagepe v C 1. *overcome*
 n C 2. *person of high status*
- tantevi v C *cut off*
- tantevi nimt- C *to insult*
- tanti 1. v C 1. *constrain, check*
 v 2. *anchor, be anchored*
- tanti 2. v C *invite as a guest*
- tantieni v C *carry on the shoulder (by two men)*
- tantiogompug v L *conceive (a child), be pregnant* [C:tadyogompug]
- tantop a *long, far*
- levi-tantop n L *middle finger*
- nimo tantop C *tower*
- tantop imeluo C *depth*
- tantop umnuri C *length*
- tantopvirog a L *narrow* [cf. virog]
- tawi-tantop t L *soon*
- taŋele v C *swallow*
- taŋesag n C* *heap*
- taŋkau p C *opposite*
- taŋkli v L 1. *ask*
 n L 2. *question* [C:taŋkeli]
- tapmetveh v C* *refresh*
- tapmi v 1. *try, test*
 n C 2. *trial, temptation*
- tar v L *fight*
- taranoiŋor v C *collapse*
- tareferoŋi v C *raven, prey*
- tari v *cut up, cut (fruit) w. knife, lance*

- tarikiron v C *fall and break into pieces*
 taroŋi v C *think (of), consider*
 [cf. taru]
 taru v 1. *think, wish*
 n C 2. *thought, will*
 taseviowi v C *neglect, overlook*
purposely
 tasi 1. v C *take off (e.g. a roof)*
 tasi 2. v C *alight (e.g. as a bird)*
 tasiasye 1. n C *peace*
 tasiasye 2. n C *complete preparation*
 tasiŋi v C *cross over*
 tasiŋitasiŋi va C *spotted, variegated*
 tasisi v 1. *to flower (of a plant)*
 n 2. *flower*
 tasomperi va C *eloquent*
 tasoŋesoŋ va C *light (in weight)*
 taste v C *perch, roost*
 tatevote n C *goods, belongings*
 tatevotegi v C 1. *carry round*
 n C 2. *something carried round*
 tau n C *fruit sp., grape-like, w. rough skin & large seed*
 tavegarar v C *crawl, walk on four legs*
 tavelvel v C* *shake w. wind*
 tavelveli v C* *fan*
 tavelveluom n C* *fan*
 tavenepoŋ v C 1. *treasure*
 n C 2. *treasured possession*
 tavesves v C *prepare, get ready*
 tavi v C *catch in the hands*
 taviar n C *magic*
 neteme taviar C *magician*
 tavioguŋi v C *dip into water, saturate*
 tavlipmi v L *go with the wind*
 [cf. nimt-]
 tavloŋi v L *split, cut open*
 [C:taveloŋi]
 tavoŋi v L 1. *lose*
 v C 2. *grobe after*
 tavoŋones v C *cross over, repeat*
 tavri v C *select, choose, discern*
 tavrivri v C 1. *waver, stagger*
 va C 2. *be forgetful, absent-minded*
 [cf. otavrivri]
 tavsimoŋi v C 1. *place small things together*
 ? C 2. *alternately*
 tavsoŋi v 1. *teach, learn*
 n L 2. *teacher*
 tavitavi v C *grobe*
 tavititi v *smash up*
 tavituru v C *reach a place, escape to*
 tavu n C *witchdoctor, sorcerer*
 nahiven tavu n C* *sorceress*
 neteme-tavu n L *medicine man*
 [C:netemtavu]
 tavu neteme n C *witchdoctor, sorcerer*
 tavuadasaŋ v C* *well up (as a spring)*
 tavulu n C *weeds sprouting in a garden*
 tavuntan v C *talk secretly against*
 tawi q *no, not, none*
 tawi-oroŋ-veh L *few*
 tawi-tantop t L *soon*
 te v C *be, exist*
 tedowi v C *stay, dwell*
 teglisau n L *fish sp.*
 telasep v C *bow the head*
 tele v C *grow up*

- telemta a L *blue, green* [C:telimte]
 teli n L *tree* sp.
 telieli v C *force, oblige*
 [cf. selieli]
 telienei n C* *young tree*
 telienlo n C *growing youth*
 telifonfate va C *middle-aged*
 telinaŋkau n C *outside corner*
 [cf. naŋkauŋi]
 telinisoŋ n C* *inside corner*
 [cf. nisoŋ]
 teliŋgomti n L *club* [C:teliŋhomti,
star club]
 telip n L *sling*
 telŋipat va L *deaf* [C:teliŋipat]
 telŋo- n L *ear* [C:teliŋo/n]
 telŋomŋol va C* *partly deaf*
 [cf. omŋol]
 telŋo-n nu C* *bank of a river*
 telŋo-n ra toŋ C* *sea coast*
 telŋo-n selat C* *side of road*
 teloŋi v C *swallow*
 teloŋoni n C *sea beach*
 telvi v L *suck*
 temah va L 1. *be hungry*
 n L 2. *hunger* [C:temas]
 temelmel n C *good shot*
 temetmetoŋi v C *hope for*
 temne n L *village*
 tempelei a L *smooth*
 tempent v C *block, ambush*
 tempoŋon n C *adultery* [var. of
 tompoŋon]
 tempresovo a C *grey*
 tensor v C *start in one's sleep*
 tenagevogeŋi v C 1. *beckon*
 v C 2. *gather (as a*
hen her children)
 tenatemah n C* *graveyard*
 tenimpe v C *allow, permit*
- tenisvi v C* *overshadow, choke*
(of plants), submerge
 tenmi v L *bury* [C:tenuŋi]
 tensompatamtoŋi v C* *shut door*
against [cf. sompatamtoŋi]
 tentom v C 1. *sound*
 n C 2. *sound*
 tentuo n C *host, multitude*
 tenutenu a C *slow*
 teŋavui v C *sip* [cf. atŋavui]
 teperesevo a C *scarlet, purple*
 tepu v C *become*
 terale v C *be in a place (=*
French se trouver)
 terarehi v C *watch s.o. or sth.*
 tereh n L *banana* sp.
 terimsaŋ n C* *hill*
 tesagnaŋinen v C *lift eyebrows*
indicating 'yes'
 tesinŋi v C *dine*
 tesuo v C *lean against, thrust*
oneself to
 tesuwai v C *invoke, swear*
 tetelioŋi n C *crowd, throng*
 teteŋnim n C *calm, quiet (of*
mind)
 tevagi ? C *spare*
 tevapeŋi v C *divide into sections*
 tevasri v C* *tear*
 tevavui v C *separate*
 tevelioŋi v C *dismiss*
 teveloŋi v C *torment*
 teventoroŋi v C *get married*
 tetetui v C 1. *await*
 n C 2. *hope, trust* [cf.
 ratevetui]
 tevi v C *inhabit*
 tevilioŋi v C *send away from*
 teviŋker v C *threaten*
 tevioŋi v C *strip leaves off tree*

tevivat va C *angry-looking*
 tevrevoruwi v C *doubt*
 tevrevuwi v C *be amazed*
 tevui v C *strip*
 tevulvul v C *be faint with hunger*
 tevureveh v C* *restore*
 tevutui n C* *bushland*
 tiali v C *overshadow*
 timnamgis ? C *desolate*
 timne n C *cleared space of ground*
 tinepe v C *give up*
 tiompeni v C *conceal*
 tipe v C *get, have*
 tiuntimne n C *lofty place, height, altitude* [cf. timne]
 tivavtiti v C *wipe out, destroy*
 tivurag v C *distribute, administer*
 tofop v L *laugh* [C:tufop]
 tog n *sea*
 netnim tog C *depths of the sea*
 telgo-n ra tog C* *sea coast*
 tog ilevog C *inlet of sea*
 togintan v C 1. *be tossed at sea*
 n C 2. *swell of sea*
 tompoi n L *bush*
 tompoŋon n C *adultery* [var. of tempoŋon]
 tompor a C *tabu, forbidden, holy*
 nimo tompor C *church*
 tomurep v C *escape alive* [cf. omurep]
 tontamah q L *few* [cf. tamah]
 toŋaŋri v C* 1. *howl, yell, bemoan*
 [cf. toŋi, aŋri]
 n C* 2. *lamentation*
 toŋesoveli v C 1. *pity*
 n C 2. *pity*
 novse-n toŋesoveli C *enemy*
 toŋi v C *weep, cry*

toŋon v C *kindle; yetoŋon naragai*
 eni - *kindled his anger*
 topavo n L *grass* [C:topavu]
 nalau ra topavo C* *illegitimate child*
 nompu-n topavo L *grass*
 touri-topavo n L *weeds*
 topotnemi v C *look intently*
 torah av C *up*
 torani n L *gun*
 toratoroŋi v L *drag*
 torefog n C 1. *thief*
 2. *extortion*
 toreforoŋi v C *take by force*
 torenwisag v C* *cry out, preach*
 [cf. enwi, -sag]
 torepsi v C *overturn, capsize*
 tori 1. v C *lead*
 torigo v C *lead aside a little*
 tori 2. n C *terrace of land as seen from a distance*
 toriki v C *go astray*
 torili v L *return, come back, go back* [cf. torilki]
 torilki v L *come back, turn back*
 [cf. torili; C:torileki]
 toriluo v L *belch*
 torimpe v C *go in, enter*
 torimsesag n C* *high place*
 toris v C 1. *disfigure*
 n C 2. *wound*
 toritori va C *striped*
 torpis n L *lightning* [C:turpis]
 toruŋat 1. va C *in good health*
 toruŋat 2. n C *servant in house*
 touri v L *hunt*
 touri-topavo n L *weeds*
 tovat n C *cliff*
 tovataroŋi v C *worry, be anxious*

tovogum v C *to fast*
 tovom v L *roast, cook* [C:tovum]
 tovrogi v C *marry*
 tovu n L *conch, shell trumpet*
 [C:tovui]
 tovuni v L *make a fire*
 tovura n L *whale*
 tovutovu n C *small solitary shrub*
 towoni p L *privative preposition,*
from [C: tovuni, *for*]
 turamtoqi v C *withstand* [cf. etur]
 tuste t L *Tuesday* [Bisl.]

U

u p C *locative preposition, usually*
prefixed
 uamwus v C *reprove* [n]
 ufle n C *sweet yam*
 ufwaki v C *worship* [n]
 ulakis n L *rat*
 ulaq n *fly*
 ulaqtomtom n C *bluebottle fly*
 ulaveri n C *ground orchid*
 ulevog n L *chronic sore*
 ulouki n L *basket for carrying*
crops [C:ulogi]
 umalme n C* *twins*
 umamrap v L *hunt*
 umanmin n L *fish sp.*
 umelegom n C *wild bird*
 umenum v C *rush*
 umenumutenem v C *assault*
 umese va CR *scorched*
 umesuli C cf. nam umesuli, *apology*
 umgai va C *ripe*
 umitar n *rainbow*
 umkeya n L *worm*
 umlat va C *barren, fruitless*
 umnuri C cf. tantop umnuri,
length
 umole n L *ant* [C:mole]
 umon v C *bake*
 umovuo n C *crop of fruit*
 umpunpun n L *fish sp.*
 umpwoyou n L *fish sp.*
 umranor n C *falling sickness*
 umrogeri n C *inability to walk*
 unam va C *firm, unchanged*
 nam unam C *oath*
 unampo- 1 L *at one's place, at home*
 unavonavo 1 C *in the field*
 uneai 1 C *high above earth, in*
the sky [cf. neai]
 unelogompne 1 L *east* [C:
 nelegompeni *'west'*]
 unisoq 1 L 1. *inside*
 p L 2. *inside* [cf. nisoq;
 C:unesoq]
 unmap 1 L *below* [cf. nmap]
 unoris n C *headland*
 untompoi 1 C *in the bush* [cf. tompoi]
 untopavo 1 L *in the bush* [cf.
 topavo]
 unug 1 L *west* [C:unuru, *'inland,*
east from Dillon's Bay']
 unuwames n C *conscience*
 ur a *bad* [C suggests *'horrible',*
stronger than sat]
 urait n L *rope*
 ure v C *dispute, argue* [n]
 ureiwan n L *fish sp.*
 urekis a C *small, little*
 uremis av C *gently*
 urian v C *judge, adjudge* [n]
 urivnei n C* *tree insect, moth*
 [cf. nei]
 urtayo n L *broom*

urtovi n L *basket* (more stylish
 than ulouki q.v.) [C:woretovi]
 urugo av C *rather badly*
 uruves n C *plant* sp.
 urva n L *river*
 usil n C *trochus shell*
 usom n C *clam shell*
 utam C cf. nimo utam, *shrine*
 utajinvet n C *eye socket*
 utgoi n L *chin*
 utuga av C* *afar*
 ututu n L *hibiscus* sp.
 utvel n C* *axe*
 uvar n L *stingray*
 uvilyoru n L *gentle breeze*
 uvnomu n L *finger nail, toenail*
 [C:uvenomu]
 uvovu v L *play*
 uvrah n L *brain*
 uvrani n C *soldier, warrior, army*
 uvrog n C *temporary hut* [possibly
 u + virog?]
 uvrani a C *everlasting, eternal*
 uvum av C *continually*
 uvumle n C *early inhabitants of*
the island
 uvuvu v L 1. *tell a story*
 n L 2. *story*
 uwog n L *fish* sp.
 uwovnavlar n L *fish* sp.
 uye n L *grasshopper*
 uyevi v C *reprove*
 uyomug n L *mosquito* [C:uyomu]

V

vai v *take, get, receive*
 vaiatompeni v C *exhibit*
 vaiidi v C *curse*
 vailap v C *borrow*

vaimpelam v C* *bring* [cf. velam]
 vaioqi v C *put around, clothe*
 vaipelag v C* *take away* [cf.
 pelag]
 vaisag v L *lift up* [C:vaisah]
 vaisep v C *put down*
 vaitorilki v C* *bring back*
 [cf. torilki]
 vaiveh v C* *do good*
 vaiveh nowan v C* *repent*
 vaiesesat v C *neglect sth. or s.o.*
 valegi v C *threaten*
 valoqi v C *mend*
 vamon av C *secretly*
 vamonki v C* *thirst for* [cf.
 omonki]
 vau a *new*
 vavgom n L *fan*
 ve v *go*
 vedoqi v C *pay attention to*
 -veh L *meliorative intensive*
suffix [C:-ves]
 veilar v L *go out*
 velam v L 1. *come*
 2. *be born* [C:velum]
 veleruperup a C *wide, broad*
 velesi v C *follow, stick to*
 veli n C *cave*
 velirivu n C *cave stretching*
back into darkness
 velitenmi n C* *cave for the*
dead [cf. tenmi]
 veleri v C *break down, break in*
 venu v C *take one's rest*
 vetmih n L *sky* [also vetmis]
 vetmis n L *sky* [also vetmih]
 vetunam n C *rock*
 vevn- n L *sister of man* [C:vive/n]
 vewon n C *anything temporarily*
empty

veyu n C *basket*
 veyuŋi v C *hire, buy*
 veyuo v C *grow cold in affection*
 via v C *pass away*
 vieni v C *go hungry*
 viete v C *lie opposite*
 vietivsep v C *glorify*
 vievsorasag v C* *raise*
 vionki v C *lose, forfeit*
 virog a *little, small, narrow*
 nalau virog L *young child*
 tantopvirog a L *narrow* [cf. tantop]
 viruŋi v C *rebuke*
 vitur v C *halt*
 vitursag v C* *raise up, cause to stand*
 viwos v C *promise* [cf. iyevwos]
 vogareki v C *press on, crowd around*
 volyaŋ a L *yellow*
 voŋi v C *shed, yield fruit*
 vulet v C *give way, burst*
 vuli v C *gum, stick*
 vuni v C *suckle*
 vuov v C *grow, of plants*

W

wai 1. v C *put feet on anything*
 wai lou C* *paddle a canoe*
 wai 2. v C *bite (of frost)*
 waine n L *fish sp.*
 walevat a C *secret* [n]
 walisevram n CR *thorny vine w. large spines*
 waliswalis n CR *mussel*
 warepo n CR *elephantiasis in leg*
 warki a L *strong*

wasisar v C *slip, be slippery* [n]
 waunoŋ- n L *cheek* [C:wau noŋu/n]
 wavirat n L *fish sp.*
 wavran a C* 1. *wide, broad* [n]
 n CR 2. *wide door, wide gate*
 welŋa n L *tree sp.*
 wemeh t L *day after tomorrow* [C:wemi]
 weve n L *tree sp.* [C:wevi, *tree similar to roseapple*]
 -wi 1. *intensive suffix*
 -wi 2. *locative suffix*
 wimpe t *four days hence*
 wina t L *three days hence* [C:winan]
 wiou n L *grandmother* [C:uyo]
 wisas t *five days hence*
 wofi n C *leaf insect, locust*
 wogon av L *very, only*
 nam wogon C *boast*
 nur wogon C* *desert*
 wolatop n C *black ant*
 wolu n L *tree sp.*
 woramal n C *lizard*
 woraŋi v C *laugh at sth. bad*
 woravan n L *boots* [cf. wor- + avan; waravan also recorded]
 worehuvi n C *oven stick*
 woreiti n C *bond* [cf. eiti]
 worenvau n C* *pandanus*
 woretovtam n C* *treasure, valuables* [cf. etovtam]
 woropatevi n C *condemn* [n]
 worowi n C *seedtime* [cf. owi 2.]
 worumnog n C *windpipe*
 worwo i C* *'what does it matter?'*
 woseliŋi v C *pour out, shed*
 wosila n L *banana sp.*

Y

yalegvi n C *tree of mistletoe family*

yalipe n C 1. *glow-worm*
a C 2. *beautiful*

yalit n L *fish sp.*

yalogoi n L *tree sp.*

yalulu n C *white of eye*

yaluworog n C *pupil and iris of eye*

yarmis n L *banana sp.*

yatrilua n L *spider*

yau pr I, me

yauga n C *elbow*

yava n C *pus*

yeloqi n L *lobster, crayfish*

yena n L *fish sp.*

yeovgap v C *stir up (water)* [cf. iogevhap]

yep n L *climb down*

yerog n L *a particular star*

yerset n L *tree sp.*

yetah n L *fish sp.*

yetunemis t C *midnight* [cf. pumrog ratunemis]

yevi 1. v L *pull, drag*

yevi nesomsah L *be short of breath*

yevi 2. v C *annoy, tease, rebuke* [also iyevi]

yevle n C *arrowroot*

yimsoq n C *branch of river*

yomput n *navel*

yomulyomul v C 1. *be rough, of sea*
n C 2. *rough sea, tide, rips*

yoqi v C *rouse up*

youp n C 1. *cooked yams* 2. *bread*

yowar n *thunder*

2. ENGLISH-SIE

A

abate (of sea, flood) taisep

abatement of storm nais

able, be okili

abode nete, nete nur

abominable iteovugi

abomination nimroq

abound oq

above imeluo

absent-minded tavrivri

abstruse oqkoqko

abundance, have in tampalsag

abundant apa, tadamsag, tamah

accursed avoret

accusation nevievri

accuse enuatompeni

across nogoroqi

action nompurag, nomp

active elirau

adjudge urian

administer tivurag

adult talam

adultery tampalau, tompoqon, tempoqon

advice nam armai

adze nuwa

afar utuqa

afraid oqkur, sarisari (to come near)

after penuri

against sesiuwai
age palsi
aged omperitwi
ago etuai (*a short time ago*)
agonize sogomulep
agree w. serogoqi
aground ogalar
ague namri
aid (v) averi
aid (n) nesitu
ailment (*rheumatism?*) noqklinadimai
aimlessly agau
air narweri
alas! iowe
alight (*as bird*) tasi
alive, be omurep, amurep
all omwisu, ovon, -su
allegory nam naqkauintan
alliance navrimoqi
allow tenimpe
almond naqai
alms nompeleves
alone kosai
also soqku, itnasiven
altar nefati
alternately tavsimoqi
altitude tiuntimne
always dan su, idowi
amazed tevrevuwi, ogeritwi (*at*)
ambush tempent
amiss agau
amulet natau
ancestors potni
anchor (n) aqka
anchor (v), *be anchored* tanti
ancient itnimpris, itetuai
'ancients, the' potnimpris

and im, m, ima (*and then*)
anger nagan, naragai
angry agan, aragai
angry-looking tevivat
animal nraṇaṇon, kurimatau, nurag
anklebone novuan nemli (*land*)
annihilate eyuguyeki
annoy yeve, idav
annul sompoli
answer (v) tamsi, avitol
ant umole, wolatop (*black*)
anus navransi-
anxiety norṇisat
anxious tovataroqi, orṇisat
anything temporarily empty vewon
apart elepon
apology nam umesuli
apostate nemtorilki
apparition neturatompeni
appear eturatompeni
approach potpot
arable ground fan nmap
areca nival
argue ure
arise sor
arithmetic numera
arm nevlogo-, nelpwo-noru-
armlet of coconut shell natorevam
army uvrami
around naqkauoqi
arranged ator
arrangement nator
arrival nevelam
arrive at senterompeni, elgavi
arrow ovanian eni, naṇal, naṇesau
arrowroot yevle
artery narep

article nurah
as soŋku
ascend sag
ashes pentop, moŋkevu
ask taŋkli
assault umenumutenem
assist esitu
assistance nesitu
at ra, rai
atmosphere narweri
attach oneself to sari
attack eteŋeveram
attend sediugiveh
*attention, pay * to* vedoŋoŋi
attract ereveni
aunt nogopon, detewo-, dinme pelag,
 namou, netuo-
autochthones of the island potnimpris
averse imru
avert sompat
avoid elani
await tevetui
awake elampe, eyumparum (*wide* *)
awaken ovsor (intr.), ouyoŋ (tr.)
away pelag
axe dogu, utvel, nake, aks
axe handle nelit

B

back nelponta-, ta-
back of knee itemelogwi
backbone nesesin
backslider nemtorilki
backwards kitan
bad sat, ur, -idi
*bad, feel * about* orŋisat
bad feeling nevaiidi

bad woman nahividi
badly, rather uruŋo
baffle sompat
bake umon
bald ompulepe, aviaviya, ohori
bamboo nau
bamboo whistle naueroŋis
banana (fruit and tree) novoh
banana sp. arimram, denmori,
 doŋon, guneyai, leiri, naram,
 noŋoukoupwa, novuan nogoi,
 pwatni, taiki, tereh, wosila,
 yarmis
banana leaf wrapping dau
band neleŋi
bank of a river telŋo-n nu
banquet nariŋari
banyan paŋ
bar at river mouth nelpat
barbed aŋesau
bark ta-, ta-n nei
barren umlat
base netegon
bashfulness naromprom
basket urtoŋi, ulouki, veyu,
 seyoiva, nesuriaru
bathe oruh
battered eravluŋi
battle navgat
bay novahap, noŋunselat
be te, terale (*in a place*), tanepoŋon
 (*in time*)
beach, sea teloŋoni
beads kirikiri
beak noŋu-, nompun noŋu-n
beam nelompoi nei, sempelog
bear witness ompuvsog
beard novloŋ-
beat against evloŋi

beaten itse
beautiful armai-veh, yalipe, ilaswi
beauty nilasilaswi
because popowo, it, ra, rai
bêche-de-mer noḡoti, nehkil ra ne
beckon tenagevogeви
become tepu
 become white etegosevo
bed nevlog
 bed, portable nesuvlog
 bed of the ocean netegon las
beetle neko
before itetuai
beg seniḡi
beget alaḡalau
beginning natipotni, potni
begrudge asioḡi
behind ranta-, ra nisa, kitan,
 netriho- (*far*)
behold! pah
belch toriluo
belly nogoletni-, netnim
belongings tatevole
below unmap, netegon
belt netoetiḡi
bemoan toḡaḡri
bend araḡkowi
benefactive nimsi-, nisgo-
bereavement norḡompunu
beseech seniḡi
beside ra nogori-
bespatter w. mud evuli
betelnut nival
betray impiḡi
 betrayers nimpiri
between ilvote-, nogori-
bewildered ori

bewitch sogowar
beyond nimpe, rategompe
Bible netai
bicker iyeви
big oroḡ, tamah
bind eiti
bird menug
 bird sp. wild umelegom, ompon,
 ompode
*birth, give * (to)* oti
bite eni, elatop; wai (*of frost*)
bitter aḡan
black aḡumsu
black soil nadimai
blade (of knife) fan nau ituḡa
blast atnatnati
blaze (n) neluam-en nom
blessed nevaiveh
blessing nompeleveh, nempaieveh
blind ipat, imtipat, imtei
 almost blind maii
blindness nimtei
block tempent, oguroḡi
blood de
blot out eyuguyeki
blow (v) ovosi (*w. mouth*), olen
 (*shell trumpet*), elimsi (*wind*),
 avoroḡi (*a gale*), tamrup (*the*
 nose)
blow the nose tamrup
blow (n) natki
blue elvogvat, telemte
bluebottle fly ulaḡtomtom
blunt ai, aiye
boast (n) nam wogon, sevet nam, nam
 oroḡ
boast (v) sevet nam
body olehera-
 body of water not open to
 sea netpeh

- body hair* novlira-
bog nal
boil (n) nalam
boiling water nu nesusah
bond nefaroqi, neleqi, woreiti
bone noura-
book netaiyi, netai
boom of outrigger movog
boots woravan
border nogori-
bore overivori
born, be omwol, velam
borrow vailap
both duru-su
bother neyori
bottle namponunevau
bottom impwap, netegon
 to the bottom rategomeyep
boundary line tainar
bow (n) (*weapon*) nevani, nefani
 (*of boat*) nete lale
bow (v) (*down*) tampup
 (*the head*) telasep
bowels nalniniwar, nousensi-
bowl for mixing kava mado
bowstring nelas
boxing natki
bracelet neylon
braid rope ompileleh
brain uvrah, nomporei
branch noru-, nevlogo-, dogorogo-,
 dogorogo-nei, noru-n nei
 branch of river yimsoq
bravado namsag
bread navugvug, youp
breadfruit (fruit & tree) nmar
break arki, sesegoe (*a dam*)
 break down veloqi
 break in veloqi
 break into small pieces orusevi,
 erautiti
 break up sevi
 fall and break into pieces
 tarikirgon
breast(s) ni-
breathe esomsah, omanuinam
breeze, gentle uvilyoru, nariovoiyy
bright ilaswi
brightness nilaswi
brimstone narogas
bring vaimpelam
 bring back vaitorilki
 bring forth (of earth) emaietompun
brisk evarevarivi, elirau
bristle (v) ovli
broad veleruperup, ogorogi, waveran
broken ochori, eseri, omti
 broken friendship nimlaq
broom urtayo, oretete
brother (of man) av-...-hai
 (*of woman*) man-
 brother-in-law netemohog
bruise tadogon
bud (n) nafog
 (v) selevlevi
budding nafog
bull, bullock kurimatau
bundle (n) neat
burden (n) nevar, nompguntom
burial mound naverimpor
burn (intr., *of fire*) au
 (trans., *human subject*) otni
burst vulet
bury tenmi
bush tompoi
 bushland tevutui

in the bush untopavo, untompoi
but kou
butterfly nemplaŋ, nemplaŋ-empo
 (large)
buttocks nempgu-
buy eseivasi, ovasi, veyuŋi
by (means of) ŋi

C

cabbage, native tampeli
call omaŋku, ovroŋi
call out ahor
calm (n) tetevenim, naiis
 (= calm sea) namarinu
calm (adj.) emolsep
canarium sp. naŋai
cancel sompoli
cane grass denyuŋ
canine tooth of pig nempati
canoe lou, louveli
cape nompun-n noŋu-n nu
capsize torepŋi
capture rori
care for oneself evieyevyeve
cargo noete
carry orioki, tantieni (on shoulders)
carry back efitorilki
carry round tatevoteti
carve etaiyi
cassava nuveni
catch elgavi, tavi
causative prefix efi-
cause to keep or be kept efefinte
cave neveli, veli
cave for the dead velitenmi
cave stretching into darkness
 velirivu
cemetery nmaprimpor

centipede nehkil ovurog
certain, a hai
chaff novkilien
change sompoli
changeable nelasamroŋi
channel silnovanu
charge (n) nompŋuntom
check tanti
cheek waunoŋ-
chest (part of body) nemedŋ-
chew alsii
chicken netuo
chief natemonog, fan lou, narisag
child nit-, nalau, nalalau (young),
 itvirog (younger), aluo- (of
 sibling of opposite sex)
chin utgoi
chin, under the nasiwan
choke (of plants) tenisvi
choose tampoli, tavri
church nimo tompor
circumcise ompii namon
circumcision namon
clam shell usom
clan savutah
clean (v, adj.) sentvi, ompaloŋi
clean fish arovin
clean road of undergrowth aroŋi
cleanse sedomsi, senti
clear (adj.) ilaswi
cleared space of ground timne
clear oneself tagose
cleave to sari
clench the teeth eltirit
cliff soŋkelau, nelponvat, tovat
climb sag
climb down yep
climb up soki

close (v) sompat
close up ravseve
closed, be sompat
closed grave mavrempor
cloth, native nmah-itse
clothe vaioŋi
clothes netausep, nmah
cloud nompwau, nagop
cloudy nagop
club niram, netnivri, teliŋgomti
 (star club?), novuan netnivri
 (round headed)
coast, sea telŋo-n ra tog
coconut (fruit) fan noki
 (tree) noki
 (dry) nomkai, nogil
 (empty) nevenoki
 (immature) novuan nale
 (ripe) neherop
 (past ripeness) namte
coconut grater naoleh
coconut shell armlet natorevam
coil round salekileŋon
cold (adj.) etpont, simsi
cold season (May-July) nagah
cold wind nentaŋi netpont
cold (n) netpont
collapse talepasi, taranoiyoŋ,
 imtarogroŋ
collect semsimoŋi
comb (n) siompu, orisampuwi, kom
comb (v) amsi
come velam
come ashore ogovsep
come back torili, torilki
come through tanterompeni
come to a head (of boil) alam
come up (of plant) soŋ
comely satevroraŋ
comfort (v) tai nowan, eyeŋi

commendation nevietivesep
commerce nevasi
compare safiŋi
compel selieli
compulsion natkisa
conceal tiompeni
conceive (a child) tantiogompug,
 sar
conch tovu
condemn woropatevi
condemnation nworopatevi
confluence of rivers nemsoŋ
confuse sompelulya
confused tampiŋon
congregation semsemag
conscience unuwames
consider taroŋi
constrain efiwari, tanti
contend auwaruwi
contention nauegomwi
continually uvum
contrary imru
conversation tampi
converse tampi
cook etnitovom, tovom, au (intr.),
 otni (human subject)
cooking place nampo-n-pentop
cooked, be au
cooked yams youp
cool omoiŋu, ariovoiŋu
copulate isor
cord nefaroŋi
corner telinisoŋ (inside),
 telinaŋkau (outside), naputan
 (outside)
cornerstone nampotan, nampontan,
 nomputan nimo (chief)
cough (v) avrug
cough (n) navrug

counsel (v) ovravsoŋi
count ehapi
court (n) nurian
cover over ovsen
cow kurimatau
crab nevlah
crawl tavegarar
crayfish yeloŋi
crazy amlu
crooked aŋkau
crop of fruit umovuo
cross (n) neumparum
cross over tavoŋones, tasiŋi
crossroads selemsŋ
crouch (as animal) nomni noŋenoŋ
crouched aiyŋ
crowd (n) tetelioŋi
crowd round vogareki
crown (n) nompupagor (= *garland*)
 nompelepes (*of head*)
crude itsoŋku
crumb namen nvaŋ, navivon nvaŋ
crush sedogon
crutch orsentu
cry (v) toŋi, aŋri, ahor, torenwisag
cry (n) nahor
curse (v) vaiidi
cut orvi, tari (*cut fruit w. knife*)
 ovwi (*w. knife*)
 cut off tantevi
 cut open tavloŋi
 cut up tari

D

dam (n) namtah
damage (n) nogini
dance (v) empgo
dance (n) nempgo

dare seyemoemo
dark elvog, elvogvat
darkness nelvogvat
dash against evloŋi
daughter nit-
daughter-in-law rovoŋo-
*dawn, before the ** nauevitavu
day pwagah, dan (= *period of time*)
 nilar (= *daylight*)
 six days ago nementŋ
 five days ago nosas
 four days ago nompe
 three days ago nona
 day before yesterday nomeh
 day after tomorrow wemeh
 three days hence wina
 four days hence wimpe
 five days hence wisas
 six days hence nementŋ
 every day dan su
 on the next day ratemran
daybreak nomtidan
daylight pwagah, nilar
daytime pwagah
dead ituremas
deaf ipat, telŋipat, omŋol
 partly deaf telŋomŋol
dear pau
death nmah
 be at point of death tai nuru
debate (n) nauor, nauwaroŋi
decay (v) avtar
deceive impiriŋi
deceiver sempiri
deck (v) taitemne
deed nompurag
 evil deed(s) nompidi

good deed(s) nompuragveh
deep (adj.) ilpalam
deep (n), *deep water* nilpalam,
defecate ovqah nompou
deliver sukilkilwi
departure nevente
depth tantop imeluo
depths of the sea netnim tog
descend eyep
desert (n) nur wogon
in the desert iluvau
desire (n) nelasivian
desire greatly oghiveh
desolate timnamqis
despise oghidi, oghisat
destroy tivavtiti, sompoli, sevi
destruction avatar
determine ovoqovoq
determined, be atkisa
devour olaviagoqi
dew nenman
diameter nesesin
die mah, masiqi (?)
different hai
difficult domo-su
dig ogol (intr.), ogli (trans.)
digging stick nuwa
dim maii
dine tesiqi
dip into water taviogunqi
directly meseiqi
dirty eliluo
disagreement nimlaq
discern tavri
discussion nauor
disfigure toris
dislocation of joint sediwar

dismiss teveliquni
disparage oghidi
dispute ure
distress nasau, norqompunu,
 netromoro
distressed, be efogeraru
distribute tivurag, efioqi
distribution netivurah
disturbance neyoimpeli
ditch sil-nousap
dive etenom
divide efiegodoqi, tevapeqi
 (into sections)
divided, be imlaq
division nevloqkon
divorce (v) satevoqi
do ompi
do evil are kisah, satidi
do good vaieveh
dog kuri, nalinoh
door selat, pokitampet, noqunselat,
 wavran (wide)
doorway noqunselat
dorsal fin niromunta-
doubt (v) tevrevorui, okilisevat
doubt, be in efogeraru
dove sp. ompon
drag yeve, toratoroqi
drain (n) sil-nousap
draw ereveni
draw away (trans.) okini
draw back the hand efalimput
draw water taliqi, oreveni
dream (v) emeviag
dream (n) nemeviag
dress (n) netausep
drink omonki
drinking nomonki

drive away satevoŋi
dropsy netralam
drought nen
drown omkon (intr.), orutenmoŋi (trans.)
 drowned omkon, ompelut
drowsy selah
drum tamtam
drunk nagave, aueterimlu (esp.
 w. kava)
drunkenness nomonki
dry lau, sentvi
 dry coconut nogil, nomkai
 dry season (August-December)
 nenumimpwap
dry (v) sentvi
dryness nen
dull (of weather) nagop
dumb pam, owampat, enempon
dust pentop, navivon
dwell ete, tedowi
dye, red nohorat

E

each hai im hai
ear telŋo-
early ratunemis, mitnoŋ
earring nivili
earth nmap
earth oven nompompunum
earthquake nomiug
ease nemolsep
east, eastward unelogompne
 east wind narwotu
easy itepelum, itemelepon
eat eni, eninvaŋ, sompeli
 (ravenously like a pig)
edge nogori-
eel neven (freshwater), poki (salt-
 water)

effort natkisa
egg nalimaŋ, net-, nagle-
eight sukrim-dehel
elbow nompunoru-, yauga
elephantiasis in leg warepo
eloquent tasomperi
embalm soveli
embrace alegep
empty even
 anything temporarily empty vewon
 empty coconut nevenoki
enclosure, round nempaiamtoŋi
encompass avrivu
encourage enuavsoŋi
end (n) aveni, navlutnin (of road)
ended isuma, omti
enemy novse-n n-agan, novse-n toŋeso-
enlighten elioŋsi, elioŋsiŋi veli
enmity nagan
enough isuma
enter ovuniŋo, torimpe
entice okini
entrails nalniniwar
entrance noŋun, mompon
entwine afiafi
envious atuitui
envy (v) matuitui, esiŋo
erect (adj.) oŋko
err eyoimpeliŋi
error neseparer, naŋkau,
 neyoimpeliŋi
escape elani
 escape alive tomurep
 escape to tavguru
escort (n) novlesenti
eternal uvrui
evening pwarap, poraporap

everlasting uvruni
every day dan su
evil sat, -idi
 evil deed nompidi
 evildoer satidi, nompidi,
 narekidi (*persistent*)
 evil omen nogesenpup
 evil-smelling nempensat
 evil spirit naviatidi
 exceedingly evil iteovugi
excellent omposti
except, in order not kutawi, kuntawi
exchange (v) sevasi, tai iran
excrement si-, nempilior
exhibit vaiatompeni
exhort enuavsoqi, ovravsoqi
exist te
expectorate etvani
expense nompguntom
expert semelmel
explain enuasomperi
exterior itpelag
extinct, be amiap
extortion torefog
extract semsi
extraction (as tooth) nevs
eye nimt-, novse-n nipmi
 pupil and iris of eye yaluworog
 white of eye yalulu
 eye of needle nelni
eye socket utaqinvet
eyebrow novlitmi, novlimet
eyelashes novlimet
eyelid ta-n nimt-
eyesight nelampalam

F

face (n) fan nimt-, nimt-
face (v) se
faeces nempilior
fail to find elasapun
faint (v) imtarogrog, talepasi
 faint w. hunger, be tevulvul
fair weather nenempar
faithless etutavniri
fall omwol, eserem (*of leaves, rain*)
 fall and break into pieces
 tarikirgon
 fall sound asleep alei-patemos
 falling sickness umranor
false friend nimpiri
false report neyoimpeliqi
falsehood namlai
fame nariqi
family iqelesai
fan (n) vavgom, tavelveluom
fan (v) tavelveli
far isut, tantop
 far behind netriho-
 far from isut
farewell (n) nempasewoqi
farewell (v) empasewoqi
farmer nasemnuo
fast (adj./adv.) ogalar, nom
fast (v) tovogom, etevogom
fasten etri
fat (adj.) nuf, avsorog
fat (n) niqako, lat, nuval
father etm-, nate (voc.)
 father's brother itvirog
 father's sister detewo-
 father-in-law netemaghi, itemam,
 itemaghi

fear (v) ametet, amtitoqi
fear (n) nametet, namtitoqi
feast (n) nariqari, nesegar
feast (v) arequ
feather novli-
feeble oremlemlu
feed avogoni, evovu
feel orqi
 feel grieved aueselogwi
 feel sick or bad about orqisat
feeling norqi, nompog (of heaviness),
 nevaiddi (bad)
female (adj.) itnahiven
fence norivgai, nempai, nempaiveh
 (good)
festival nariqari
few tawi-oroq-veh, tontamah
field denug, nete nur
 in the field unavonavo
fifth sukrimoqi
fight (v) tai, tar, avgat, esesau
fight (n) nesesau
 '*Fiji taro*' talevie
fill taliqi, ovuarogi
 fill up hole in ground esevi
fin, dorsal niromunta-
find oggi
finger dogoroqo-, dogoroqo-noru-
 index finger sesimaqsi
 little finger oltayou
 middle finger levi-tantop
 ring finger natmahidou
fingermail uvnomu, fewonamu, fetnapu
fingertip navlutnin
finished, be aveni, tampli
fir tree inyar
fire nom
firewood nei, nemetu

firm (be) domo, unam, iqar
firmament neai
first ra novum, mampum
firstborn (of males) itnetemepe
fish nomu
 fish sp. gimpit, gulpei, gumen,
 igkraitog, iyempa, kutivin,
 letremte, mesen, moqum,
 nagaiwaine, neliwo, nevenwane,
 nomuklevieh, nomukninen, nomunagan,
 nomutra, novelranu, novle, numureh,
 pap, potnavlog, sapwotu, save,
 sowavo, teglisau, umanmin,
 umpunpun, umpwoyou, ureiwan,
 uwog, uwovnavlar, waine, wavirat,
 yalit, yena, yetah
fishhook divkau, kilikil
fishing line naporoqi
fishing net naupwan
five sukrim
 five days ago nosas
 five days hence wisas
fixed ogalar
flames of fire seluamen nom
flat surface narar
flea nogut
flee alou
flesh fan, nelat, niyar
flexible meluglug
flickering (of a flame) noremismis
float (v) orgai, orgaisag, angaihaq
float (n) of outrigger nelman
flock (n) semsemag, naitompum
 semsemag
flood (n) nousap
 flood, be in ousap
flow (v) oral, orari, alug
 (quickly), ousap (v. fast), enom,
 enompe
flow (n) of a river norari
flower (n) tasisi, novoqon
flower (v) tasisi

flutter sauselogo
fly (n) ulaŋ, ulaŋtomtom (*bluebottle*)
fly (v) ogep
fly whisk oteŋilaŋ
flying fish save
flying fox naŋkrai
foam (n) nakik
foam (v) ekik
foam at the mouth atevanai, atutu
 noŋum
fog mowap, navnaŋai
fold talni, alni
follow velesi, muri
follower nurie
food nvaŋ
fool sempia
foolish omŋai, eduavu
foot no-, tanmitno-, mompono-
for nimsi-, nisgo-, pot, it
forbidden tompor
force (v) telieli, selieli
forego enuatompeni
forehead nelpavinu-, nafini-
foreign ituŋa
foreigner domo
foreskin sam
foretell evsemevsemoŋi
forfeit vioŋki
forget otavrivri
forgetful, be tavrivri
forgive efieientoŋi
forgiveness nefieientoŋi
forked emsoŋ
form (n) namonamon
foundation potnewon, netegon
four dvat
four days ago nompe

four days hence wimpe
fourth(ly) dvat-oŋi
fowl netuo
fragrant empen-veh
free (v) sulí
Friday dan sukrim
friend av-, nompunaran
false friend nimpiri
broken friendship nimlaŋ
from maroŋi, towoni
*front, in * (of)* rampu-, mampum
frozen etpont-vat-su
fruit novua-, novu-, nampoŋ
fruit sp. tau
fruitless umlat
fugitive navanavan
full ovuar
full-grown, be alam
fur novlira-
furnace nompou

G

gale (n) sempesempe
gale, blow a avoroŋi
gall bladder nomni
game(s) nalul
garden (v) ompuraŋi
garden (n) denug
gardener nasemnuo
garland nompuaŋgor
garment semplauon
gate neworekireki (*small*), wavran
 (*wide*)
gather semsemag, alegon,
 tenagevogeŋi, semsimoŋi
gather fruit eseŋi
gathering semsemag, naitompun
 semsemag

gathering of fruit nesevi
gaze at soŋkelowi
generation palsi
gentle emolsep
gently uremis
get vai, tipe
get married teventoroŋi
get one's sight elampalam
get ready tavesves
get strong epoipo
ghost natemas
giant neturapum
gift itemas
girl nevi
give ovoŋi, talogoŋi
give birth (to) oti
give suck ampuni
give temporarily ovoŋilap
give up tinepe
give way vulet
glade nomorun
glorify vietivsep
glory nilasilaswi
glow-worm yalipe
gnash the teeth oŋu
go ve
go aboard asoki, soki
go against the wind senipmi
go astray toriki
go back torili
go down eyep
go first elah
go hungry vieni
go in ovuniŋ, torimpe
go out veilar
go round aŋkau
go through tanterompeni

go up sag
go with the wind tavlipmi
god novu
good armai, tanpo, satevrorau
good shot temelmel
goodness tanpo
goods noute, tatevole,
 netevote, nokŋon oŋo su, nevatum
gourd niteloŋ
grace itemas pau, neloloŋveh
grandchild mogop-
grandfather itais, itaih
grandmother wiou
grasp oruleki
grass novlovsi, topavo, nompu-n
 topavo
grass sp. nempari, novo
grass skirt nompelat
grasshopper uye
grassland iluwawi
grater naoleh
grave mavrempor
 grave memorial nagur
 graveyard tenatemah
graze tamtag
grease niŋako
great oroŋ, tamah
green telemte
greeting kik-e-pau
grey tempresovo
grief nohoru, norŋompunu
grieved aueselogi
grip elgavi
grope tavgavi, tai selat,
 tavoŋi
ground nmap, timne (cleared),
 nompu-n nete (stony)
grow alam, tele, vuo

grow cold in affection veyuo
grow dim ei
grown up talam
grub (n) nilas
grubbing (as a pig) nogolaŋ
grumble elavogevog
grumbling nenuapogefo
guard (n) navles
gun (n) dompon ne
gun (v) vuli
gun torani
gush out serim
guts nousensi-

H

hair novlompu- (head), novlira-
 (body)
halt vitur
halves noŋkon noŋkon
hand noru-, nogve-
handle (of axe) nelit
hang sagelevoŋi
 anything hanging down natau
 hang about sarisari
 hang oneself elkiwan
hanger-on nampelet
harass eyoŋri
harbour novahap, noŋunselat
hard oŋkoŋko, domo, domo-su,
 laulau
 hard to move, be iŋar
harvest-time nalegon
hat purou
hate oghisat
hatred noghisat
haughty iyauyau
haul sogowavi

have tipe
 have in abundance tampalsag
 having swinging gait iyauyau
haze navnaŋai
he iyi
head nompu-, navlutnin (of arrow)
headland nompu-n noŋu-n nu, unoris
heal etu
 healthy, well-made man fan neteme
 in good health toruŋat
heap (n) taŋesag, tainar (stones)
 nompu-n nete (stones)
hear orŋi
hearing norŋi
heart patmonu
heavens pogop
heaviness, feeling of nompog
heavy ompguntom, ompog
hedge round empaiamtoŋi
heel masuri
height tiuntimne
help esitu
helper naveri
her (poss.) eni
here iŋko, iyihi
hesitate okilisevat, iri
hew out orvi
hibiscus sp. nedrap, ututu
hiccough (v & n) sentŋolal
hidden kavrag, etiompe, amon,
 elesagepon
hide aropon, seni, amon
high nusian, uneai
 high place torimsesag
high chief fan lou nusian
high tide nenom
hill terimsag

hinge nevsem
hire veyuji, afeyodoqi
his eni
hit tai
hold elgavi, oravsivsiv (*firmly*)
 elintoroqi (*w. teeth*)
hole navranur, nogol, nelni
holy tompor
home, at unampo-
honour (n & v) sesieveh
hook divkau, kilikil
hope (n) ratevetui, tevetui
hope (v) temetmetoqi
horizon nogori-
horn of animal nempati
host tentuo
house nimo, simanlo, nimalgep
hover iri
how? hongkuse, nogowo
how many? deve, dve
how much? deve, dve
howl (v) toqagri
hunger temah
hungry temah, vieni
hunt umamprap, touri
hurricane nemtangi oroq, noroitu
hurry on oseluongi
husband ahau, ahawo-, asul
husk (n) novkilien
hut uvrog

I

I yau
idiot sempia
if naqku
ignorant omqai, esepau
ignore oseluongi nam

illegitimate child nalau ra topavo
illness nelileki
image namonamon
immediately marima-ŋo
immortality netuavtar
impure eliluo
in ra, rai
inability to work umrogeri
increase sag, tadamsag, oŋ
indeed ava, ova
index finger sesimaŋsi
infant nalau, impamu
influence for evil sedoŋye
inhabit tevi
 early inhabitants uvumle
inherit evatum
inheritance tampenum
injury nogini
inland cf. unug
inlet of sea tog ilevog
insect wofi, urivnei
insecure avanavan
inside nisoŋ, ratunisoŋ, unisoŋ, ra
 mompon, netŋo-
instep ta-n no-
insult (v) tantevi nimt-
interjections oraŋi (*attracting*
 attention), kik-e-pau (*greeting*),
 iowe (*alas*), ei, eyi (*no*), novo
 (*swearword*), pah (*behold*), ava,
 ova (*indeed*), kik-pe-kik (*is that*
 so?), ipe-kik, worwo, ko,
 kineduavu
intestines nousensi-
intimation sedioŋ
invalid (n) netevulul
invite tanti
invoke tesuwai
iota nipmi nam
iris of eye yaluworog

island nompuahai
it iyi
itch (v) aqot
its eni

J

jaw novsoguampo-
jealousy naragar, neworemisat
join avrimoqi, ompeloqi
joint nevsem
joist sempelog
jot (n) nipmi nam
joy navos
judge (n) nurian
judge (v) urian
juice (dried) of naqai tree
 natogeves
jump irauhag
just (adj.) tanpo
justice tanpo

K

kava nagave
kava mixing bowl mado
kava plant nevenouki
keel naputan
keep sioguqi, alegolegi (an order)
keep going atkisa
keeper navles
kidney(s) nesip
kill taloqi
kindle toqon
kindness nelogeloqveh
kindred iqeletau
kingdom lou
kiss soqu
knee nompunetru-

kneel sompum netru-
knife nau, nau ituqa
know, know how to okili
knowledge nokili

L

labour w. child iqar
ladder norivsau
lake netpeh, nawipeh
lame oetet
lament akur
lamentation toqagri, naqri
lamp nilar
lance (v) tari
land (n) nur
language nam
large nusian
last ra nisa
be last aveni
later penuri, maveli
laud nevietivesep
laugh tofop, eseraqi, woraqi (at
 sth. bad)
lavalava lavalava
law selnivi nam, nam alam
lazy etromoro
lead tori, toriqo (aside a little)
leaf noqli-
leaf insect wofi
lean (adj) eloq
lean (v) tesuo
leaning on sesiuwai
leap irauhag, asoki (on)
learn tavsoqi
least novsirian
leave maroqi, seyewani, owi, owun,
 owisep (behind), owilap (temporarily)

left (hand) mwor
leg no-
 legless nowomti duru
lend ovoqilap
length tantop umnuri
level (adj.) asiasye
licentious elasivian
lick naspi
lie (n) namlai, namte
lie (v) (= *lie down*) alei,
 efaliliput (*in foetal position*)
 lie opposite viete
lie (= *tell lies*) amlai
life namurep, nomurep
lift oriugi, tesagnafinen
 (*eyebrows*)
 lift up ovkisag, vaisag
light (n) nilar
 bright light nilarveh
light (*in weight*) arvarve,
 tasogeson
light up elionsi, elionsiqi
lightning torpis
like (prep.) sonku, honkuse
liken safiqi
line
 boundary line tainar
 fishing line naporoqi
 in line ator
lip nogolon-
liquid domp-
listen sediugiveh
little virog, urekis
 little finger oltayou
live (= *be alive*) omurep, amurep
 living, long life fan nomurep
live (= *dwell*) ete
liver mou

lizard niqaverag, woramal
lo! pah
load nevar
lobster yelogi
locust wofi
lodge orogole
lofty place tiuntimne
loincloth netoetiqi
long (adj.) tantop
 long ago itetuai
longing for food naluvien
look oghi
 look around alangkau
 look at oghai
 look down from a height sonkelau
 look for ohoroqi
 look intently topotnemi
 look intently at elarki
 look out through oghiyo ra
 look up elasag
 looking displeased nevivak
lose tavoqi, vionki, ei (*sight of eye*)
lost on
 lost person or animal semoimo
loud voice or sound navian-sag
louse nogut
love (v) elintoqi
love (n) nelintoqi
 love gift itemas pau
low tide nmah, nunmah
lower ovkisepe
 lowering (of sky) neyoimpeli
lukewarm omoiyo
lungs latorgowut
lust nelasivian, nelasivian-sat

M

mad emlu, ompavian
maggot nilas
magic taviar
magician neteme taviar
maiden itnumpogon
maimed ogowomti
make ompi
 make a fire tovuni, iyevwos
 make a light iluwa
 make excuses are
 make light of are kiŋi
 make merry luguluŋeve
 make smooth tadi
male (adj.) natman, itnatman
male (n) natman
man (= human being) neteme
man (= male) natman
 wise man nointanwi
 young man neviarep
manioc nuvnei
many tamah, oroŋtou, sikat
mark (n) tainar, safi
marriage nempogelah
marrow nevnamel
marry teventoroŋi, ompoglag
 tovroŋi
masculine natman
mast nival, mas
master narisag
masticate audibly tamtag
mat nanom
me yau
meagre aiip
meaning of a word fan nam
measure taloŋ (out), safiŋi (up)
meat nelat, niyar

medicine man neteme-tavu
meditation nevelevele, netevanu,
 nilasivrevor
meek oramel
meet on the road avtit
men's house simanlo
mend etri, valoŋi
message nam
messenger tadgo
midday pwagahpwagah
middle ilvote-
 middle finger levi-tantop
 middle-aged telifoŋfate
midnight yetunemis, pumrog ratunemis
might (n) oroŋ
milk domp-ni-
mire nal
mischievous neyoimpeli
misdeeds nompuragidi
mist mowap, nompwau, navnaŋai,
 natemovot
mistletoe (?) yalegvi
mistress nasimnalam
mix sompelulya
 mixed tampiŋon
mock maŋipai, sedogye
moisture nenman
Monday mode
money (stone) navelah
moon itais, itaih
more momu
morning pruvŋum
mosquito uyomug
moth urivnei
mother dinm-, namou (voc.)
 mother's sister dinme pelag
mound (burial) naverimpor

mount (v) asoki
mountain nompuwo
 range of mountains netoutau
mourn agur, orqompunu
mourning nagur
mouth navra-
mud nal
muddled sompelulya
mug kapel
multiply tadamsag
multitude nompun lou, tentuo
mumble empavik
murmur elavogevoq
 mur-muring neworemisat, nenuapogefo
mussel waliswalis
mute pam
mysterious etiomponuar
mystery netiomponuar

N

name (n) ni-
name (v) omaŋku, atovnin
nape of neck tanowa-
narrow virog, tantopvirog
navel yomput
near potpot, potgon, devsi, nogori-
 nearby nimpe
neck tanowa-, nowa-, navranowa-
necklace nevlon, kirikiri
neglect (v) taseviowi, elesagepon,
 vaiesesat
neighbour nompunaran
nephew aluo-, nogopon
nest somplug, sempeluo
net (fishing) naupwan
new vau
next maveli

on the next day ratemran
nice-looking woman fan nahiven
niece nogopon, aluo-
night pumrog
nine sukrim-dvat
nipple nipmi ni-
no tawi, eyi, ei
none tawi
nonsense neduavu
noon pwagahpwagah
north, northwards empatap
 north wind norituŋa
nose oroglaŋ
not tawi
nourish avoŋoni
now marima
nuisance neyori
numb arolim

O

oath nam unam
obedience nalegolegi
obedient, be sediugiveh
obey alegolegi
object (n) nurah
oblige telieli
obstinate, be matuitui
obstruction namtah, netagli
occupation nafioŋi
ocean bed netegon las
octopus noguoq
offence malogol
 take offence tamsal
offend, be offensive malogol
offer talogogi
offering sogowar

oil domp-, nigako
old etetalam, iterovat, ompumetuo
old age nompumetuo
omen (evil) nogesenpup
on, on top of ra ta-n
once again haimomu, nempnon haimomu
one hai, haimo
one of each haitevengo
one only haiteven
one who seeks out to kill senteri
one-eyed nemtempes
one-legged nowomti
only wogon
open (v) taipelah, asai
open the eyes elampalam
open up selevlevi
open (adj.) taipelah, sesegoe
opening (in ground) mompon
openly amsog
opposite tankau
lie opposite viete
or ku
orb of sun nipmi nen
orchid ulaveri
order (v) empasewoŋi
order (n) nempasewoŋi
other hai
out ilat, pelag
be out of joint (of bone) selgon
out of the way neforefari
outwards ratelvo
outrigger boom movog
outrigger float nelman
outside ilat
to the outside ratilat
oval (adj.) oras
oven nompompunum

oven stick worehuvi
overcome tantevagepe
overdrive taitan
overflow seloŋ
overgrown selameŋis
overlook purposely taseviowi
overshadow tiali, tenisvi
oversight neseparer
overtake senteroŋi
overturn torepsi
overwork taitan
oyster shell nempes

P

paddle (v) ahuwo, wai lou
paddle (n) or-ahuwo, nivuo (*steering paddle*)
pain (n) nohoru
be in pain ohoru, oraŋkau
pandanus nomplat, worenvau
parable nam naŋkauintan
parasite nampelet
pardon (n) nefielentoŋi
pare etepi
part (n) nevloŋkon
part (v) efiegodonŋi
pass oseluonŋi, avan-wi, eteluonŋi
pass away via
passage noŋunselat
past, in the itetuai
path selat
patience nemolsep
pawpaw (papaya) mesi
pay attention to vedoŋonŋi
peace nenparati, tasiasye
peacetime dan namarinu
penis nelu-
people lou

people of same place savutah
perceive orŋi
perch (v) taste
perhaps niŋoi
perish amiap
permit tenimpe
persistent, be matuitui
person neteme
(exceptionally fair) nafolian
(married but childless) nevi
(of high status) tantevagepe
perspiration nenor
perspire enor
persuade sempeliŋsi, sedavotni
perverse oŋkoŋko
pick out asomperi
picture safi
pie tampompie
piece nevloŋkon, kesitah (*of money*),
 nelompoi nei (*large piece of wood*),
 namen (*small*)
pig nompgahi
pigeon nogolowog
pillow ortamprag
pinch oruntvi
pity (v & n) toŋesoveli
place (n) nur, nampo-, unampo-
high place torimsesag, tiuntimne
place of pot-
place (v) avrimoŋi (*together*),
 sempelogeŋi (*underneath*),
 tavsimoŋi (*small things together*)
plague navoret
plane (v) tadi
planet mosi
plant (v) owi
plant sp. uruves, nemratau
plateau nemolsep, iluwawi

platform potnomputuo
play (v) uvovu, alul
play (n) nalul
plentiful, plenteous nusian, apa
pluck fruit from tree esevi
point (n) nompu-n noŋu-n
poison (n) sesenagon
pool netpeh, nawipeh
poor aromgor
possessions noute, netevote,
 tavenepo (*specially valued*)
pound atki
pour out woseliŋi
power oroŋ
powerful oroŋ, nusian
praise (n) nariŋi
pray ovuaki
preach torenewisag
precipice soŋkelau
pregnant, be tantiogompug
preparation (complete) tasiase
prepare siman, tavesves
present (v) talogoŋi
preservation nevieyevyeve
preserve soveli
press on vogareki
pretend to strike agiŋi
prey (v) tareferoŋi
prey (n) nelat
price nimt-
prison nimo noŋkoŋko
private amon
produce children ne
promise (v) viwos, iyevwos
promise (n) nievuos
proof sekil
prop up sesiuwai

prophecy evsemevsemoŋi
prostrate oneself ogoloŋi
protect sukilkilwi
protector semsempari
proud iyauyau
pudding opioŋi
pull yeŋi, ereveni
 pull out sedorŋi, evsi
pulverise tadogon
pumpkin niteloŋ
punish taiwi, tampeniŋi
pupil and iris of eye yaluworog
purple teperesevo
pursue elesi
pus yava
push saveti, safeti, savet
put otihep
 put around vaioŋi
 put down ovkiseŋ, vaiseŋ
 put feet on wai
 put in the way oguroŋi
puzzled oŋkur, efogeraru

Q

quarrel (v) esesau, auwaruwi, are
 nowan
quarrel (n) nevaiidi, nesesau,
 nauegomwi
question (n) taŋkli
quick(ly) nom
quiet (of mind) teteŋnim
quit seyewani, maroŋi
quite isuma

R

race (n) palsi
rafter movog
rain (n) nehe, neŋip

rain (v) evip
rainbow umitar
raise (up) vievsorasag, efitur,
 vitursag
random, at agau
range of mountains netoutau
rat ulakis
raven (v) tareferoŋi
ravenous, be elatop
reach senterompeni
 reach a place tavguru, elgavi
read ehapi
ready etevuraves
 get ready tavesves
reap alegon
rebel (v) maroŋi
rebuke (v) viruŋi, yeŋi
receive vai
 receive favourably oghiveh
red avlar
reed denyuŋ
reef at low tide ikri
refresh tapmetveh
refusal nimru
refuse (v) asioŋi
reject satemoŋi
rejoice avos
remain ru
remainder noŋkon
remember entume
remembrance nevelevele
remit enuatompeni, sariari
renown nariŋi
repair ompeloŋi
repeat tavgones
repent vaieveh nowan, orŋisat
report, false neyoimpeliŋi

reprove uyevi, uamwus
residence nete
rest (v) emedoq
 take one's rest venu
rest (n) nemedoq
restore tevureveh
 restored to health nepoipo, oroqveh
restrain oruleki
return torili
reveal enuatompeni
revere sesieveh
reverence sesieveh
reverie nilasivrevor
reward nimt-
rheumatics, rheumatism nadimai,
 noqklinadimai
rib nempri-
rice devulmoleh
ridge of house naputan, selnivi
 (inside)
ridicule (v) sedogye
right tanpo
right (hand) meveh
rigor namri
ring finger natmahidou
riot (n) nesesau
riot (v) esesau
ripe umgai
 ripe coconut neherop
rips (n) yomulyomul
rise up and attack eteneveram
river urva, nintelep
road noguŋo, noqunselat, selat,
 neworekireki
 roadside telŋo-n selat
roast tovom, etnitovom
robber neforoŋi
rock vetunam

roll ovolivoli, sedogon (*in hand*),
 talni (*up*)
roof mompo-
room tanterum, silevog
roost (v) taste
root nowatni-, nie (*k.o.*)
rope noh, leleh, urait
rotten lovosmosop, lawasisi,
 omtimti, ovtar
rough (of sea), rough sea yomulyomul
rouse up yoŋi
row (v) ahuwo, taki
rub ohovgi, sentvi, esevoli
rudder nivuo
rule (v) ari
ruler narisag
run alou, ehe, enompe, enom
rush umenum

S

sackcloth nmah nieloŋeloŋ
sacrifice (n) sogowar
safe eyowar, evieyowar
safety neyowar, nevieyowar
sail (n) nmah
salt netukus, nominmin
salute (v) empasewoŋi
salute (n) nempasewoŋi
same soŋku
sand narvin
sandalwood nei-empen
sap domp-
satisfy tali
saturate tavioguŋi
Saturday dan eworum
savage aŋon
save efefinte, sukilkilwi

sawdust navivon ne
say am, oġu
scab niġeven
scaffolding nefati
scale (n) niġeven
scarlet teperesevo
scatter seviogonġi, asevioġi
scent (as a dog) semupmup
sceptical etutavniri
scorched umese
 scorching sun nen-otni
scorpion nempou ikri
scout (n) semevsi
scratch orei
sea tog, namarinu (*calm*),
 yomulyomul (*rough*)
sea-shell nompri
sea-slug noġoti
search soremelimel, sompelag
 (*eagerly*)
season nagah (*cold*), nenumimpwap
 (*dry*), nenum (*wet*)
seaweed novlohuo, namtimte
second dur-oġi
secret (adj.) walevat, amon,
 etiompene
 secretly vamon
see oghi
 see off on a journey sentur
 not seeing clearly maii
seed novse-, novua-
 seedtime worowi
seek for soroġi, senterġi
 (*in order to kill*)
seize oruleki
select asomperi, tavri
self pen-, pe
send tamoli, tevilogoni (*away*
 from)

sentry semevsi
separate (v) tevavui
separate (adj.?) elepon
serpent nogopurum
servant toruġat
serving netivurah
set at variance imlaq
set free sulġi
set in uproar sefaiintan
seven sukrim-duru
sew etri
shadow tali, namolin, noraiyu
shady place noraiyu
shake w. wind tavelvel
shallow, shallow water ikri
shame (n) naromprom
shark nempou
sharp ago
shave tadi
she iyi
sheaf neat
shed (v) woseliġi, voġi
 shed tears aġri
 shed the skin ail
sheep poġipoġi
shelf nevlog
shell (n) nompri, usom (*clam*),
 usil (*trochus*), waliswalis
 (*mussel*)
 shell trumpet tovu
shield (n) semsempari
shin niteve-
shine selai
ship dou
shoal naitompun semsemag
shoot (v) sei (*w. arrow or spear*),
 etri (*w. gun or stone*)
shore ikri

short potpot, potgon
a short time ago etuai
short of breath, be yevei nesomsah
shortness of breath nesomsah
shot, good temelmel
shoulder nompunor-
shoulder-blade dogu
shout (v) nasorasag
shout (n) asorasag
show sesi, enuatompeni
shrine nimo utam
shrub tovutovu
shrunk avsilni
shut (v & adj.) sompat
shut door against tensompatamtoqi
shut eye, as in aiming imtemas
shut in sompatamtoqi
shut out sompatamtoqi
shutter namtah
sibling of same sex av-...-hai
sick amarat (be), orqisat (feel)
sickness namarat, umranor (falling *)
side nogori-, telqo-n selat
(of road)
on the other side noqkon nimpe
sigh nesomsah
sight noghi, nelampalam
sign nogesenpup, safi
signal by waving aueyauwi
sin sat
sinew narep
sing arufo
sink omkon (intr.), orutenmoqi
(trans.)
sip (v) atqap, teqavwi, atqavui
sister (of man) vevn-
(of woman) av-...-hai

sister-in-law tamplin
sit etehep
situation nampo-
six mehkai
six days ago/hence nementon
skin (n) ta-, nogolenta-,
 nogolista-
skirt nompelat
skull nevenoki-nompum
sky vetmis, vetmih, pogop,
 neai
in the sky uneai
slacken selgon
sleek avsorog
sleep (v) aleipo
sleep (n) naleipo
sling telip
slip wasisar
slippery, be wasisar
slow tenutenu
slowly ilepalam
slumber selah
small virog, urekis
smash up tavititi
smashed eravluqi
smell (v) empen (intr.), empu
 (intr.), orqi (trans.)
smoke (n) novosi, noqo-nom
smooth aharaahar, tempelei,
 aviaviya, asiasye
make smooth tadi
snake nehkil
snare (v) elgavi
snore sompog
snoring sompog
socket of eye utaqlinvet
soft meluglug
softness nemeluglug

soil, black nadimai
sojourn orogole
soldier uvrani
some noŋkon
 some day dan hai
something hai sesai, sesai
 something carried round tatevotenŋi
 something heard of noror
 something that falls off nemlan
sometime dan hai
son nit-, naliŋ
 son-in-law netemaghi
song narufu
soon tawi-tantop
sorcerer tavu, tavu neteme
 sorceress nahiven tavu
sorcery natemasvai
sore novli-, ulevog (*chronic*)
sorrow nasau, nohoru
sorry orŋompunu
soul naviat
sound (v) tentom, eli (*a shell trumpet*)
sound (n) navia-, tentom, narioven (*of wind*)
sour agan
south, southwards empag
 south wind natuŋa
Southern Cross sempiyomti
sow seed seviogonŋi
space tanterum
spare tevagi
sparrow nimpen
speak am, enwi, meluglug (*kindly*)
spear (n) sau
species nulogon
speech nam
spew alawonŋi

spider yatrilia
spirit naviat, natemas, naviatidi (*evil*)
spit etvani
splinter (v) somprogum
split tavlogi, eseri
sponge (n) namtimte
spotted tasiŋitasinŋi
spread out masumperi, selevlevi
sprinkle w. water avui
spur on fowl's leg nemliwa-
spy (n) neturarki
squeeze orgon, avsi
squid noguog
stab etri, sei
staff orsentu
stagger tavrivri
stand etur
 cause to stand vitursag
star mosi, mosi talimet
 a particular star novnen, yerog
star club telinŋomti
start in one's sleep temsor
statute nam alam
stay ru, orogole, tedowi
 stay for a short time ogote
steal amrog
steering paddle nivuo
stick (v) vuli
 stick to velesi
stick (n) sei, orsentu
 oven stick worehuvi
stingray uvar
stir up (water) yeovgap, iogevhap
stomach nogoletni-
stone nvat
 stone money navelah

stone used in sorcery natemasvai
stonewall novuvent
stony ground nompun nete
stoop tampup
walk w. a stoop sempeleyogyog
storey (of house) taientimne
story uvuvu
tell a story uvuvu
stout avsorog
straight onko
stranger domo, nesepau
street selatalam
stretch oreveni
stretch out hand eyevan
stretcher nesuvlog
strike tai, atki
string (n) noh
strip tevui
strip leaves off tree teviongi
striped toritori
strive atkisa
strong domo, warki, onkonko
stronger morugo
stumble tai selat, tagli, seyevo
stumbling block netagli
stump of tree potni
stupid omgai
submerge tenisvi
substance fan
substitute (v) tampenum, oworepatevongi
substitute (n) tampenum
succeed s.o. tampenemongi
*succession, in ** nesituesitu
suck telvi, ampuni
give suck ampuni
suckle vuni, avogoni, omonki nunu
suffer sagumulep

sugarcane poria, polie
sun nen, nomukam
scorching sun nenotni
Sunday dan mido
sunshine nen
surname naliq
surround avrivu, avlesi
swallow (v) etogoli, telogi, tagele
swallow (n) menug sat
swamp nenomsep, naupe
swear tesuwai
swearword novo
sweat (v) enor
sweat (n) nenor
sweep etior
sweet ompu
sweet-smelling empen-veh
sweet potato kumara, kumala
k.o. sweet potato lili
sweet yam ufle
swell (v) alam
swell up alam
painful swelling sevi
swell (n) of sea togintan, nimpiau
swim orgai, oruh
swimming noruwo
swing (n) natau, tainatau

T

table nevlog
tableland nemolsep
tabu tompor
tail novlaivi-, novlaimpgo-
take vai
take away vaipelah
take by force toreforongi
take down eleli, taisep

take heed orŋioŋi, orŋoŋi
take off tasi (roof), seyoviap
 (clothes)
take offence tamsal
take one's rest venu
take soundings atŋap
talk secretly against tavuntan
tame emlu
tangled talet
tapioca nuvnei
taro tal, talevie ('Fiji taro')
tarry ru
taste (v) atŋap, atŋavui
tattoo (n) netai
teach tavsoŋi
teacher tavsoŋi
tear tevasri, elintevi (w. teeth)
tears nulimt-
tease yevi
teat nipmi ni-
tell tampiŋi, uvuvu (a story)
tell lies amlai
tempest sempesempe
temporary action -lap
temptation tapmi
ten narwolem
terrace taitemne, tori
test (v) tapmi
testicles novse-nietu-
testimony nompUvsog, nam nompUvsog
thank ompaloŋi
that iyempe, iyuwi, ima, mah, mori,
 mori nimpe
then penuri, maveli, pol, ima,
 pai
there mayuwi, mayu, ilampe,
 empelamp, iyuwi, iyempe
they iror

they alone iror-ŋo
thick poŋvat, evivat
thief neforoŋi, torefog, namprog
thieve amprog
thigh nompU-nva-, nva-
thin eloŋ, ehlon, aiip
thing sesai, nurah, nimroŋ
things noute
think taru, taroŋi
third(ly) dehel-oŋi
thirst for vamonki
thirsty, be eviomnug
this iyihi, iyimo, imo, mah, mori
thong neleŋi
thorn nemliwa-, niloroŋon
thornbush nemlewoŋo
thought netevaru, taru
threat nempalegi
threaten teviŋker, valegi
three dehel
three days ago nona
three days hence wina
thresh sedogon
throat navranowa-
throne potnompUtuo
throng tetelioŋi
throughout tanoŋkon
throw tafaŋi, asevioŋi
throw away tafaŋi
thrust oneself to tesuo
thumb penatpu
thunder yowar
Thursday dan dvat
tibia niteve-
tide yomulyomul
high tide nenom
low tide nmah, nunmah

tie eiti, sentop, elki
tie on eyetavsivsi
tie up elki
till maveli
time nempqon
timid imroq
tin vessel kapel
tip (n) navlutnin
tired itale
tittle nipmi nam
to rai, ra, poq, poqi, maveli
tobacco nuqonom
today ire
toe doqoroqo-, doqoroqo-no-
toenail uvnomu, fewonamu, fetnapu
tomorrow mran
tongue neluam-
tooth nelve-, noqu-
canine tooth of pig nempati
front teeth nis
top
on top of ra ta-n, rampu-
topmost semet
torch of coconut leaves niluwo
torment (v) teveloqi, sogomulep
tossed at sea, be togintan
touch soqkori
tower nimo tantop
track, overgrown selamenis
trade (n) nevasi, nafioqi
trance, be in ilasivrevor
travail (n) naqelau
treasure (v) tavenepon
treasure (n) woretovtam
treasured possession tavenepon
tree nei

tree sp. fonfati, inyar, mori,
 nadmai, naiwa, nalpe, namam,
 naqal, nedoq, nedu, nemlap,
 neumtau, neyo, nidemah, nilaru,
 nimram, ninomu, nipiese, nipleple,
 nogo, nohorat, nousam, numpulou,
 orenvau, patinunuwap, pouwel,
 pwongku, tamtel, teli, welqa, weve,
 wolu, yalegvi, yalogoi, yerset
young tree telienei
tree insect urivnei
tremble evoregor
trembling nevoregor
trial tapmi
tributary of river nogve-n nu
trim lap wick aroven
trochus shell usil
trouble (n) naqelau, nasau,
 netromoro, nohoru
troubled, be efogeraru
true itnesoq
trumpet, shell tovu
trunk (of tree) nelempwohe-
trust (n) tevetui
try atkisa, tapmi
Tuesday tuste
tumor nalam
turn ovoli
turn a corner ovlaqkau
turn away elampia
turn back torilki
turn sth. over osavlahakqi
turn the head alaqqau
keep turning over ovolivoli
turtle navu, nahvu
twig doqoroqo-nei
twins umalme
two duru
two of each duru-ŋo

U

ulcer novli-
unchanged unam
uncle (paternal) itvirog, nate
 (voc.)
uncle (maternal) namou (voc.).
unclean eliluo
under ra mompon
under the chin nasiwan
underchief nivuo, nevsem
underneath impwap, netegon
understanding nelavenuri
undress seyoviap
union navrimoqi
unite avrimoqi, ompeloqi
unoccupied tanterum
unsheath sedorì
unstable avanavan
up sag, torah
upper semet
upright oŋko
upwards rategomesag
urinate evlami
utmost mesesiaì

V

vagina naŋi-
vain eduavu
valley nintelep, nomorun, navra-n
 nur
valuables woretovtam
variegated tasiqitasiqi, iyur
variety nulogon
vein narep
very wogon
very blunt aintuqu
very cold etpont-vat-su

village temne, nemote
vine sp. walisevram
vision noghi
visit atnemi
voice navia-
volcano nehawati
vomit elua, alawoqi

W

wake up ouyoŋ (trans.), ovsor (intr.)
walk avan
inability to walk umrogeri
walk another way avan-ŋo
walk on four legs tavegarar
walk w. a stoop sempeleyogyog
walking-stick orsentu
wall novar, nevuvent
stone wall novuvent
wallow elimiselu
wander about seyewani
wanderer navanavan
want (v) agayoŋi
want (n) (of courage) nimroŋ
war (v) avgat
war (n) navgat
warm awau
warm semevsi
warrior nompago, uvrami
wash oruwoŋi (sth.), orokilen (hands)
washing noruwoŋi
watch (v) terarehi
water nu
boiling water nu nesusah
deep water nilpalam
shallow water ikri
water not open to sea netpeh
wave (n) nimpiau

wave (v) *as a signal* aueyauwi
waver tavrivri
way selat
we exc. kam
we inc. koh
weak eterimlimlu
 weak-eyed imtodi
weakness (in sickness) nelaswoni
wearied itale
weather, fair nenempar
weave ompi nanom
Wednesday semsimah
weeds touri-topavo, tavulu
weep aqri, toqi
well (n) nuitogli
well (adj./adv.) oroqveh
well up tavuadasag
well-developed satevrora
well-dressed etovtam
west, westwards unug
 west wind nompravu
wet omnug
 wet season nenum
whale tovura, ompwelvi
what? se, sema
when nempqon, naqku, polku,
 polsoqku
when? niqoi
where iye
where? iya
which? itogo
while polku
whisper elavogevog
whistle, bamboo naueroqis
white ohovo, ehevo
 become white etegohevo
 white of eye yalulu

who? mei, meima
why? iranse
wide waveran, veleruperup, oroq eni
 wide awake eyumparum
widow neviompuwi, nevi
width nivorig
wife retp-
 wife of a chief nsimnalam
wild domo, aqon
 wild bird umelegom
will (n) taru
wind nemtagi
 east wind narwotu
 north wind norituga
 south wind natuga
 west wind nompravu
windpipe worumnog
wing nevlogo-
wink talimet
wipe sentvi
 wipe out tivavtiti
wisdom nelegon
wise elegon
 wise man nointanwi
wish taru
witchdoctor tavu, tavu neteme
with (comitative) du, dal
with (instrumental) qi
wither atnatnati
 withered avsilni
without delay meseiqi
withstand turamtoqi, se
witness (n) nompuvsog
 bear witness ompuvsog
woman nahiven
 bad woman nahividi
wonder (v) ogeritwi, avloqi

wonder (n) navloŋi, nogesinepup

wonderful avloŋi

wood nei

k.o. wood nogesam

dead wood nemetu

small piece of wood neko

word nam

the last word nam semet

a few words potgon nam

work (v) ompuragŋi

work (n) nompurag

difficult work naŋelau

worm mogopunap, umkeya, nilas

worm out iterovat

worry (v) tavotarogŋi, eyogŋi

worship (v) ufwaki

worship (n) nufwaki

wound (n) toris

wrap up tahi

wrapping dau

wrestle sauselogo

wrestling sauselogo

wring out avsi

writing netaiyi

Y

yam nup

yam sp. gumpam, louko, malia,
marog, netsieti, nohuo, nugumori,
orofenuo, pete, poreh, seranousen,
taipotonei, ufle

cooked yams youp

yawn amwap

year nevi

yell toŋaŋŋi

yellow volyaŋ, melyar

yes o, nog, monogowo

yesterday ninu

yield fruit voŋi

you pl. kimi

you sg. kik

young child nalau virog, nalalau

young man neviarep

young marriageable person nevi

young tree telienei

youth, growing telienlo

Z

zephyr nariovoiyu

CHAPTER 4

URA GRAMMAR SKETCH AND VOCABULARY

Just as a recent paper (Lynch 1982) appeared, summarising what was then known of Ura, a moribund language of northern Erromango, Arthur Capell made available to me his notes on the language. These notes contained two texts, the only extant textual data in Ura apart from a translation of the Lord's Prayer (Gordon 1889). The availability of these texts has allowed both the grammatical and lexical sections of my 1982 paper to be considerably expanded.¹

1. PHONOLOGY

Analysis of the available data suggests the phonemic system given below. The consonant phonemes are given in Table I, and the vowel phonemes in Table II.

TABLE I: Ura consonant phonemes					
	Velarised Bilabials	Bilabials	Dentals Alveolars	Velars	Glottal
Voiceless stops	(pw)	p	t	k	h
Prenasalised voiced stops		b	d	g	
Voiceless fricatives		f	s		
Voiced fricatives		v		ɣ	
Nasals	mw	m	n	ŋ	
Lateral			l		
Flap			r		
Semivowels	w		y		

TABLE II: Ura vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	(ə)	o
Low		a	

Consonants. The voiced stops are clearly prenasalised medially, but less so initially. It seems clear that /mw/ contrasts with /m/, but the data are insufficient to establish whether separate velarised bilabial stops /pw/ and /bw/ have phonemic status, as might be expected from an examination of Sie and other Southern Vanuatu languages. The fricatives /f/ and /v/ are bilabial, while /r/ is a flap. There is some confusion between Capell's and my data regarding /l/ and /r/: in some cases I have [l] where Capell has [r], while in a few cases I have [l] where Capell has non-prenasalised [d]. I have generally relied on my own transcriptions in this paper.

Vowels. The vowel [ə] occurs in some words in both Capell's and my data. A number of these occurrences are clearly cases of open transition between members of non-homorganic consonant clusters, and these have been ignored here. Other cases, however, do not fit this description, and there may be a case for a sixth vowel phoneme in Ura (as in the Tanna languages).

Phonotactics. Ura has a similar phonotactic system to Sie: both open and closed syllables are permitted, and although consonant clusters may not normally occur initially or finally, clusters of two consonants may occur medially. Vowel clusters may also occur. Stress tends to be penultimate.

2. MORPHOLOGY

This section is a considerable expansion of the grammar section of Lynch (1982).

2.1. Focal pronouns

Ura pronouns occur in a number of forms: as verbal prefixes marking subject (2.7.); as suffixes to verbs and some prepositions marking object (2.7.); as suffixes to some nouns, possessive morphemes, and some prepositions marking possessive case (3.1.1.); and in a free or focal form, acting as emphatic noun phrase subject. The focal pronouns distinguish singular and plural number only. They are:

(1)	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st inc.		gis
1st exc.	yau	gim
2nd	ga	gimi
3rd	iyi	leil

2.2. Nouns

As in Sie, the great majority of nouns begin with *n*, although a number of nouns referring to persons begin with *y* and some nouns referring to animals begin with *u*. These may once have been separate or separable prefixes (cf. the reconstructed articles Proto-Oceanic **na*, Proto-Austronesian **i*), but they are now fused with the noun.

Nouns may be pluralised with a prefix *ovn-* (becoming *ov-* before an *n*-initial noun), or by a suffix *-ye*. Examples:

(2)	Singular		Plural
	<u>livsau</u>	<i>servant</i>	<u>ovn-livsau</u>
	<u>nalalau</u>	<i>boy, child</i>	<u>ov-nalalau</u>
	<u>netevote</u>	<i>possession, thing</i>	<u>netevote-ye</u>

There is some evidence that personal/kinship nouns are pluralised with a prefix *l-*; cf. *ahuro my friend*, *l-ahuro my friends*.

Nouns are formed from verbs by the prefix *n-* (*ne-* before consonants):

(3)	<i>arufa</i>	<i>to sing</i>	<i>n-arufa</i>	<i>song, singsing</i>
	<i>omorop</i>	<i>to live</i>	<i>n-omorop</i>	<i>life</i>
	<i>ohumus</i>	<i>to be hungry</i>	<i>n-ohumus</i>	<i>hunger</i>
	<i>revnip</i>	<i>to rain</i>	<i>ne-revnip</i>	<i>rain</i>

There is also evidence of an instrumental prefix *wor-*, as in *wor-enogo* (INS-*walk*) *shoes*; cf. also *or-asua* (INS?-*paddle*) *a paddle*.

2.3. Deictics

The following deictics have been identified:

(4)	<i>erema</i>	<i>this (near speaker)</i>
	<i>imo</i>	<i>this, that (near addressee?)</i>
	<i>mori</i>	<i>this, that, previous reference</i>
	<i>yuwi</i>	<i>that, yonder</i>

Of these, all but *imo* follow the noun (cf. 3.1.2.).

2.4. Numerals and quantifiers

The forms of the numerals given in the three major sources are listed below:

(5)	Gordon (1889)	Capell (MSa,b)	Lynch
1	<i>sai</i>	<i>netai, sakai</i>	<i>saiagan</i>
2	<i>gelu</i>	<i>gelu</i>	<i>gelu</i>
3	<i>geheli</i>	<i>geheli</i>	<i>gehli</i>
4	<i>lemelu</i>	<i>lemelu</i>	<i>suorem</i>
5	<i>suorem</i>	<i>suelem</i>	<i>misikai</i>
6	<i>misai</i>	<i>misai</i>	<i>misikai-saiagan</i>
7	<i>simhelu</i>		<i>misikai-gelu</i>
8	<i>simheli</i>		
9	<i>sinivat</i>		
10	<i>lurem</i>		<i>ten</i>

There appears to have been a basic systemic change in the Ura numeral system in fairly recent times: *lemelu four* has been lost, *suorem five* has become *four*, while *misikai six* has become *five* and the base for the numerals above *five*; in addition, *lurem ten* appears to have been replaced by the Bislama (Vanuatu Pidgin English) form *ten*.

Gordon also gave some examples of numerals above ten:

- | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------------------|
| (6) | 11 | lurem mitaperiqi pa sai |
| | 12 | lurem mitaperiqi pa gelu |
| | 20 | lurem gelu |
| | 100 | lurem lurem |

In addition to the numerals, we can identify two sets of quantifiers. One set comprises those which precede the noun, including *legen other*, *degen some*, *sai a*, *a certain*, and *davau no*, *none*; the other set comprises those which follow the noun, including *suat many*, *alauriekia all*, *dahamas many*, and *davau-dahamas few*.

The interrogative quantifier *give how many?*, *how much?* should also be mentioned here. However, I have no example of its use in a noun phrase.

2.5. Adjectives

Most adjectives are given in citation form with a prefix *aru-*, which becomes *arw-* before a vowel and *ar-* before *y*; for example, the citation forms of *mogum green*, *ai blunt*, and *yarmon male* are respectively *aru-mogum*, *arw-ai*, and *ar-yarmon*. This is apparently an identificatory prefix, cognate in form and function with Sie *it-*; i.e. *aru-mogum* is probably 'the green one'.

I have no data on the pluralisation of adjectives in Ura. In all of the examples of plural noun phrases containing an adjective, that adjective shows no marking for plural.

2.6. Prepositions

As in Sie, certain prepositions with a pronoun object take a pronominal suffix, whereas others take the focal pronoun. Those which clearly take suffixes are:

- | | | |
|-----|-------|--|
| (7) | ra | locative, causative (the form with the suffix is <i>ara-</i>) |
| | bohqi | dative |

Other prepositions are listed below in (8). From the available evidence it is not clear whether *maruqi* and *qi ~ oqi* take focal or suffixed pronouns.

- | | | |
|-----|---------|--------------|
| (8) | maruqi | from |
| | burubut | near |
| | san | benefactive |
| | qi, oqi | instrumental |
| | dal | comitative |
| | li | comitative |

2.7. Verbs

As in Sie, verbs form the most complex area of Ura morphology. Because of this, however, and because of the small amount of data available, it is difficult to be confident about the analysis which follows.² Nevertheless, an examination of the available data shows a verbal system not essentially different from that of Sie.

Oral/nasal alternation. There are a number of examples of the same kind of oral/nasal alternation in Ura verb roots which takes place in Sie. Some roots show prefixation of *n-* in the present and future:

(9)	Past Root	Present/Future Root	
	<u>agaiiqi</u>	<u>n-agaiiqi</u>	<i>want</i>
	ogori	n-ogori	<i>know</i>

Other verbs, however, show nasalisation of the first consonant of the root and, in some cases, a change in the quality of the initial vowel. Those identified so far include:

(10)	Past Root	Present/Future Root	
	<u>iva</u>	<u>eba</u>	<i>go</i>
	ovohoji	abohoji	<i>give</i>
	obu	abu	<i>make, do</i>
	tani	dani	<i>take, hold</i>
	tadek	dadek	<i>arise</i>
	otai	adai	<i>kill</i>
	eta	eda	<i>stay, be</i>
	ogsi	agsi	<i>see</i>
	ogo	ago	<i>say</i>
	keni	geni	<i>eat</i>

Subject- and tense-marking. From an examination of textual data, and from the paradigms given by Gordon (1889), we can draw the following conclusions regarding the marking of subject and tense/aspect in the Ura verb.

First, the prefixes marking person-of-subject in the various tense/aspects are as follows:

(11)	General Past and Future	Present	Mid Past and Far Past
1st sg.	yau-	yag-	yau-
2nd sg.	k-	k-	k-
3rd sg.	g-	g-	y-
1st inc.pl.	kul-	?	?
1st exc.pl.	kak-, ul-	?	?
2nd pl.	?	kil-	?
3rd pl.	il-	il-	il-

Second, the prefixes marking tense/aspect (which follow the subject prefixes), and the form of the verb root used for each tense/aspect, are shown below:

(12)	Marker	Verb Root
General Past	Ø-	oral
Future	Ø-	nasal
Present	am- (a- before irrealis n-)	nasal
Mid Past	Ø- (3rd person), m- (elsewhere)	oral
Far Past	em-/om- (3rd person)	oral
Subjunctive	p-	oral

The mid and far past tense/aspects seem to behave similarly to the same tense/aspects in Sie. The mid past is marked by m- in first and second person, but this is lost in the third person; in the far past, the third person is marked by em- or om- (conditioning not established), suggesting that, in the other persons, the marking (like Sie) is m-em- (or m-om-).

Other affixes. A number of other verbal affixes have been identified, many of which correspond to similar affixes in Sie. These are merely listed here with some indication of their functions, as the information on many of them is limited.

First, the following verbal prefixes have been identified:

(13)	m-	echo-subject
	etu-	negative
	esebin-	spontaneity
	osen-	emphatic
	wor-	infinitive/purposive

Second, the following object pronominal suffixes have been identified:

(14)	Singular	Plural
	1st inc.	-gis
	1st exc.	-gim
	2nd	-imi (-nimi?)
	3rd	-l, (-il)

There are also the following non-pronominal verbal suffixes:

(15)	-i, -ŋi, -oŋi, -iŋi	transitive
	-ye	perfective
	-du	locative interrogative
	-sep	motion downwards

Finally, the following forms, probably intensive enclitics, have been identified:

(16)	-ves	meliorative intensive
	-sat	pejorative intensive
	-wi	general intensive

3. SYNTAX

3.1. Phrase structure

There is little to add on the structure of verb phrases, since virtually all examples merely consist of a verb. However, in this section we will discuss briefly possessive phrases, noun phrases, and other phrase types.

3.1.1. Possession

Ura shows a difference in structure between inalienable and alienable possessive phrases, although it also appears that the original inalienable possessive system may have given way to a more simplified system.

What was apparently the original inalienable system, involving the suffixation of possessive pronominal forms to nouns, has been identified only in the singular and only with three roots:³

(17)	<u>foot/leg</u>	<u>brother</u>	<u>child</u>
1st sg.	nouk	avuksai	neruk
2nd sg.	?	ahmusai	nerum
3rd sg.	nowin	avinsai	nehni

Unfortunately, two of these three roots, the forms for 'brother' and 'child', are also irregular, or at least involve morphophonemic changes, in Ura (and in Sie) — which may be the reason why these forms have been retained. In any case, it appears that the original system was one in which pronominal suffixes, markedly different in form from the focal pronouns, were suffixed directly to nouns; these suffixes in the singular were probably -k *my*, -m *your* and -n *his*.

This original system, however, appears to have undergone change, as follows: the original inalienably possessed noun has accreted the original third person singular possessive suffix -n as part of the stem; the following forms are then added to that stem:

(18)	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st inc.		?
1st exc.	-yau	-kim
2nd	-ka	?
3rd	-Ø	?

Thus an original form ***delŋe-ear* has, with the fusion of the third singular suffix, become modern Ura *delŋen*. To this base are added the suffixes given in (18) above, e.g. *delŋen-yau my ear*, *delŋen-ka your (sg.) ear*, *delŋen his ear*, etc.

Only one type of alienable or active possessive construction occurs, using the possessive morpheme *ari*. The pronominal forms are:⁴

(19)	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st inc.		arigis
1st exc.	ariyau, arau	arigim
2nd	arika, arka	arigimi
3rd	ariyi	ahleil

There is little data on possessor noun phrases, but the following two examples show that the system appears to be basically the same as Sie:

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (20) | nehni nani
<i>child:its goat</i>
<i>A kid</i> | ovn-livsau ari dera
<i>PL-servant POSS father:vocative</i>
<i>Dad's servant</i> |
|------|---|---|

3.1.2. Noun phrases

As far as can be ascertained, the only items that can precede a noun in a noun phrase are the set of quantifiers mentioned in 2.4. above and the deictic *imo*. Examples:

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (21) | legen nei
<i>some coconut</i>
<i>Some coconuts</i> | sai umek
<i>a snake</i>
<i>A snake</i> |
| | ra imo nemgen
<i>LOC this time</i>
<i>At this time</i> | davau neven ari-gimi?
<i>no food POSS-you:PL</i>
<i>Have you (pl.) no food?</i> |

All other items must follow the noun in a noun phrase. It appears that the order is Noun + Adjective + Possessive + Numeral/Quantifier + Deictic, although there are no examples with more than a couple of these constituents.

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (22) | ovn-livsau ari-yi gelu
<i>PL-servant POSS-his two</i>
<i>His two servants</i> | yalu saiagan
<i>boy one</i>
<i>A/one boy</i> |
| | neven erema
<i>food this</i>
<i>This food</i> | |

3.1.3. Other phrases

A number of other phrase-types will be briefly discussed here; these generally consist of noun phrases preceded by a preposition.

Temporal phrases. Temporal phrases are of two types: an unmarked phrase containing a temporal noun, or a noun phrase introduced by the preposition *ra*:

- | | |
|------|---|
| (23) | iyi y-ovo-yau neven ahaninu
<i>she 3SG-give-me food yesterday</i>
<i>She gave me food yesterday</i> |
| | ra imo nemgen y-em-ogs-il ov-nalalau gelu il-em-eni
<i>LOC this time 3SG-FP-see-them PL-boy two 3PL-FP-eat</i>
<i>Then he saw the two boys eating</i> |

Temporal nouns which may stand alone in a temporal phrase include the following:

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (24) | yera
ahaninu
marima
uvu
atiruai
giŋei | <i>today</i>
<i>yesterday</i>
<i>now</i>
<i>always</i>
<i>before</i>
<i>when?</i> |
|------|--|--|

Locative phrases. A locative phrase may consist merely of a locational noun, like the following:

- (25) *ih*i *here*
 *yu*wi *there*
 ompeyok *over there*
 dua *where?*

or of a phrase, like *dua nivenu where?* (lit. *where place*).

Other locative phrases are introduced by prepositions. The common locative preposition is *ra* which, when followed by a pronoun object, has the form *ara-* and takes possessive suffixes. Examples:

- (26) *y-em-ogs-i ra naiki* *il-ohomol ra dena*
 3SG-FP-see-TR LOC mat 3PL-lie:down LOC ground
 He looked on the mat *They lay down on the ground*
 He saw it on the mat

 y-em-tavol-i ra nera nivenu...
 3SG-FP-send-him LOC place land...
 He sent him to a place...

 rimin y-ogs-i soku iyi isut m-em-osen-tavarili ara-n
 father 3SG-see-him when he far ES-FP-greatly-pity LOC-his
 His father saw him when he was far away, and took great pity on him

There is a preposition *burubut* *near*:

- (27) *burubut nivat*
 near stone
 Near the stone

Gordon also gives a locative preposition *marugi* *from*, though Capell treats this as the verb *leave*.

I have only one example of the use of *ra* + inalienably possessed noun functioning as a compound preposition, and that involves the noun *dige* *the underneath (of)*:

- (28) *umek y-ohomol m-ihili ra dige nivat*
 snake 3SG-lie:down ES-crawl LOC underneath stone
 The snake crawled away under a stone

Dative phrases. Indirect objects are encoded by pronominal suffixes to the verb, with direct objects following them:

- (29) *iyi g-obo-yau never*
 she 3SG-IRR:give-me food
 She will give me food

Other dative phrases are introduced by the preposition *bohgi*, which takes pronominal object suffixes:

- (30) *y-em-ovili bohgi rimin ...* *wi g-ovili bohgi-imi ... ?*
 3SG-FP-say DAT father ... who 3SG-say DAT-you:PL ...
 He said to his father ... *Who told you (pl.) ... ?*

 ko rimin y-em-ovili bohgi-il ovn-livsau ari-yi ...
 but father 3SG-FP-say DAT-them PL-servant POSS-his ...
 But his father said to his servants ...

Benefactive phrases. Benefactive phrases are introduced by the preposition *san*. When the object is a pronoun, free (focal) forms of the pronouns are used. Examples:

- (31) y-em-eri nei gehli san ov-nalalau, im sai san iyi
 3SG-FP-throw:down coconut three BENF PL-boy, and one BENF he
 He threw down three coconuts for the boys, and one for himself
 ovo-yau leŋen netevote san yau
 give-me some goods BENF I
 Give me some of the goods owing to me

Instrumental phrases. The instrumental preposition is *ŋi* (in one case the form *oŋi* was observed). Examples:

- (32) yau-ni-mis ŋi n-ohumus
 1SG-IRR(?) -die INS NOM-hungry
 I am dying of hunger
 m-em-asivie-ŋi netevote-ye yuwi oŋi nogesi
 ES-MP-waste-TR goods-PL there INS ill:living
 And wasted all his goods there with ill-living

Comitative phrases. Two comitative prepositions have been identified, *li* and *dal*. I have no evidence regarding any semantic difference between them. Examples:

- (33) ... mo soku yau-p-avos-wi dal l-ahuro
 ... so that 1SG-COND-rejoice-INT COM PL-my:friend
 ... so that I could rejoice with my friends
 neruk, ga li yau uvu
 son:my, you:SG COM I always
 My son, you are with me always

Similative phrases. Similative phrases are introduced by the preposition *soku* *like, as*:

- (34) obu-yau soku ovn-livsau ari-ka
 make-me as PL-servant POSS-your:SG
 Make me one of your (sg.) servants

Causative phrases. One example from the text in 4.1. suggests that *ra* ~ *ara-* functions as a causative preposition as well as a locative preposition (as its cognate form does in Sie):

- (35) ara-da gimi gelu kil-am-geni neven ari-yau?
 CAUS-what you:PL two 2PL-PRES-IRR:eat food POSS-my
 Why are you two eating my food?

3.2. Sentences

This section examines first the internal structure of sentences, largely by examining simple statements, commands, and questions. We then move to a brief examination of some complex sentence-types in Ura.

3.2.1. Statements and basic sentence order

Verbless sentences are generally of the form topic + comment. Some examples of verbless sentences appear in (21) and (33) above. Other examples are given below:

- (36) ... popowo nii dahamas, yau urkris bagan
 ... *because tree big, I small very*
 ... *because the tree is big, and I am very small*
 imo nemgen davau never ah-leil ihi nup
 this time no food POSS-their here yam
 Now they had no food Here is a yam

Although one of the texts in section 4 has a number of 'biblical' inversions, with object before verb or verb before subject, the basic order of phrases in the Ura sentence is subject + verb (+ object). Examples:

- (37) yalu saiagan yi-venim gim kak-ogs-i never
 child one 3SG-come we:EXC 1EXC-see-TR food
 Another child came We (exc.) saw the food
 ga k-em-geni iyi yi-tan-i lenau
 you:SG 2SG-PRES-IRR:eat he 3SG-take-TR knife
 You (sg.) are eating He took the knife

Other phrases normally occur after the verb (in intransitive sentences) or after the object (in transitive sentences). Examples:

- (38) leil il-om-ovovu nemgen urkris leil il-om-arap ra diqe nii
 they 3PL-FP-play time small they 3PL-FP-sit LOC underneath tree
 They played for a short time They sat under/in the shade of a tree
 yau-ovohoq-imi never ahaninu
 1SG-give-you:PL food yesterday
 I gave you food yesterday
 iyi y-em-eri nei gehli san ov-nalalau
 he 3SG-FP-throw:down coconut three BENF PL-boy
 He threw down three coconuts for the boys

However, temporal phrases may also occur sentence-initially, as may interrogatives:

- (39) ra imo nemgen y-em-ogs-il ov-nalalau gelu il-em-eni
 LOC *this time 3SG-FP-see-them PL-boy two 3PL-FP-eat*
 Then he saw the two boys eating
 ara da gimi gelu kil-geni never ari-yau?
 CAUS *what you:PL two 2PL-IRR:eat food POSS-my*
 Why are you two eating my food?

3.2.2. Commands

Affirmative commands differ from statements only in the omission of person-of-subject prefixes to the verb and, in most cases, in the absence of any subject pronoun or noun phrase. Examples:

- (40) ovo-yau legen netevote san yau
 give-me some goods BENF I
 Give me some of the goods owing to me

obu-yau soku ovn-livsau ari-ka
make-me as PL-servant POSS-your:SG
Make me one of your (sg.) servants

In a plural affirmative command, the prefix *il-* (which may be the third person plural prefix) occurs on the verb:

- (41) *il-iva*
PL-go
Go (pl.)

A negative command is similar to an affirmative command in structure, except that the verb also contains the negative prefix:

- (42) *il-etu-teti yera*
PL-NEG-come:back today
Don't (pl.) come back today

3.2.3. Questions

Yes-no questions in the textual data available consist of a statement clause followed by the question-tag *ku or*. I have no data on the intonation pattern in these questions. Examples:

- (43) *davau neven ari-gimi ku?* *degin nei g-am-eda ku?*
not food POSS-your:PL Q *some coconut 3SG-PRES-IRR:stay Q*
Have you (pl.) no food? *Are there any coconuts?*
- ga k-abo-kim sai neven ku?*
you:SG 2SG-IRR:give-1EXC:PL one food Q
Will you (sg.) give us some food?

Information questions are marked by one of the following interrogative words:

- (44) *wi* *who?*
da *what?*
wima *what?*
ara-da *why? (= CAUS-what)*
give *how much, how many?*
dua *where?*
-du *where? (verbal suffix)*
giŋei *when?*

Examples:

- (45) *wi g-ovili bohŋ-imi wor-tani neven ari-yau?*
who 3SG-say DAT-2PL INS-take food POSS-my
Who told you (pl.) to take my food?
- da imo?*
what this?
What's this
- ara-da gimi gelu kil-am-geni neven ari-yau?*
CAUS-what you:PL two 2PL-PRES-IRR:eat food POSS-my
Why are you two eating my food?
- k-ogsi-du?*
2SG-see-where
Where do you see it?

3.2.4. Relativisation

Relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronoun *mori*. Example:

- (46) *ov-nalalau il-tani nevenq mori ehinen y-ovohq-il*
 PL-boy 3PL-take food REL mother 3SG-give-3PL
The boys took the food which the mother had given them

3.2.5. Other complex sentences

Despite the very limited data, some statements regarding various kinds of complex sentences in Ura can be made with at least a certain degree of confidence.

Coordination. A number of morphemes serve to coordinate, in one way or another, two clauses in Sie:

- (47) *im, mo, m and⁵*
de and then
ko but
gise but

In addition, the echo-subject prefix *m-* occurs with, apparently, identical functions as the same prefix in Sie. Examples:

- (48) *iyi yi-tadek m-venim bohqi rimin, im rimin y-ogsi*
he 3SG-arise ES-go DAT father, and father 3SG-see
He arose and went to his father, and his father saw him

iyi y-iva m-ovlehegi av-in-sai mampum ari-yi m iyi yi-venim
he 3SG-go ES-call brother:his before POSS-his and he 3SG-come

m-em-eki nii mori
ES-FP-climb tree PREF

He went and called his older brother and he came and climbed the tree

y-em-ovohqi degin av-in-sai de gelu il-em-eni
3SG-FP-give some brother:his and:then two 3PL-FP-eat
He gave some to his brother and then the two of them ate

ko rimin y-em-ovili bohqi-l ovn-livsau ari-yi ...
but father 3SG-FP-say DAT-3PL PL-servant POSS-his ...
But the father said to his servants ...

iyi y-em-ogsi ra naiki gise davau wor-ogsi nevenq erema
he 3SG-FP-see LOC mat but not INS-see food this
He looked on the mat but could not see the food

Clauses are often coordinated merely by juxtaposition, with no overt conjunctive morpheme:

- (49) *nii dahamas, yau urkris bagan*
tree big, I small very
It's a big tree, and I am very small

Cause. Causal clauses are introduced by *popowo* *because*:

- (50) *yau davau nivan erema wor-eki imo nii, popowo nii dahamas*
I not flesh man INS-climb this tree, because tree big
I can't climb this tree, because it's a big tree

Temporal clauses. Temporal clauses are introduced by soku *when*:

- (51) soku neven y-omo, yalu saiagan y-em-ogo ...
when food 3SG-finished, child one 3SG-FP-say ...
When the food was finished, one boy said ...

Purpose. Clauses of purpose are introduced by mo soku:

- (52) k-otu-ovo-yau sai nehni nani mo soku yau-p-avos-wi
 2SG-NEG-give-1SG one child:its goat PURP PURP 1SG-COND-
 dal l-ahuro
 rejoice-INT COM PL-friend:my
You (sg.) did not give me one kid so that I could celebrate with my friends

A common construction in both texts in section 4 is the use of a kind of infinitive of purpose introduced by the instrumental nominaliser wor- (cf. 2.2. above). Examples:

- (53) iyi y-em-tavoli ra nera nivenu wor-ovos-il ov-nimgas
 he 3SG-FP-send LOC place land INS-feed-3PL PL-pig
He sent him to a place to feed the pigs
 wi g-ovili bohñ-imi wor-tani neven ari-yau?
 who 3SG-say DAT-2PL INS-take food POSS-my
Who told you (pl.) to take my food?

Conditions. Conditions are introduced by nañko *if*. However, there are so few examples of conditions in the textual data that I am not able to make any serious comment on their syntax.

4. TEXTS

Two Ura texts are presented below. Both come from Capell's fieldnotes, and in neither case was any attempt made to provide morpheme glosses. I have edited the texts, translated them into the phonological system as outlined in section 1, changed the spelling of those words which differed from forms I elicited, and provided morpheme breaks. A few cases, where I have been unable to identify a particular morpheme, have been marked with ??. Each text is given first with morpheme breaks in Ura with interlinear morpheme-glosses, and then in free translation.

4.1. The Boy and the Coconuts

This is a standard text which Capell used for elicitation purposes in a number of Pacific languages. What follows, then, is a translation and not a free text.

yalu urkris y-ereñi neven. y-ereñi ra naiki. yalu saiagan yi-venim.
 child small 3SG-have food. 3SG-put LOC mat. child one 3SG-come.
 y-ogsi neven mi-tani. y-em-ovohñi deñin av-in-sai, de gelu il-em-eni.
 3SG-see food ES-take. 3SG-FP-give some brother:his, and:then two 3PL-FP-eat.
 behnuri yalu ra nopum y-omi-teti. iyi y-em-ogsi ra naiki gise davau
 after child LOC first 3SG-FP-come:back. he 3SG-FP-see LOC mat but not

wor-ogsi neven erema. ra imo nemgen y-em-ogsi-l ov-nalalau gelu il-em-eni.
 INS-see food PREF. LOC this time 3SG-FP-see-3PL PL-boy two 3PL-FP-eat.

'ara-da gimi gelu kil-am-gehi neven ari-yau?', iyi y-em-talehi-l.
 'CAUS-what you:PL two 2PL-PRES-IRR:eat food POSS-my?', he 3SG-FP-ask-3PL.

'davau neven ari-gimi ku?'
 'not food POSS-your:PL Q?'

'davau neven ari-gim, ga k-em-gehi'.
 'not food POSS-our:EXC, you:SG 2SG-PRES-IRR:eat'.

'wi g-ovili bohni-imi wor-tani neven ari-yau?'
 'who 3SG-say DAT-you:PL INS-take food POSS-my?'

'davau sai. gim kak-ogsi neven, ul-agaihi, mi-tani'.
 'not one. we:EXC LEXC:PL-see food, LEXC:PL-want, ES-take'.

'ko yau y-a-n-agaihi, ari-yau'.
 'but I 1SG-PRES-IRR-want, POSS-my'.

'y-am-obo-ka, gis alaurie kul-gehi'.
 '1SG-PRES-IRR:give-2SG, we:INC all 1INC-IRR:eat'.

leil il-em-erevavui neven m-arap ra naiki m-em-eni. soku neven
 they 3PL-FP-divide food ES-sit LOC mat ES-FP-eat. when food

y-omo, yalu saiahan y-em-ogo, 'y-a-n-agaihi momu. dehin nei
 3SG-finished, child one 3SG-FP-say, '1SG-PRES-IRR-want more. some coconut

g-am-eda ku?'
 3SG-PRES-IRR:stay Q?'

'o, nei g-am-eda ra bohni nii, naiko k-a-n-agaihi
 'yes, coconut 3SG-PRES-IRR:stay LOC stump tree, if 2SG-PRES-IRR-want
 ki-n-eki'.
 2SG-IRR-climb'.

'yau davau nivan erema wor-eki imo nii, popowo nii dahamas, yau urkris
 'I not flesh man INS-climb this tree, because tree big, I small

bagan. ko av-uk-sai mampum nivan erema wor-eki ma-dani neherop san
 very. but brother:my before flesh man INS-climb ES-IRR:take ripe:coconut BENF
 gis'.
 we:INS'.

iyi y-iva m-ovlehehi av-in-sai mampum ari-yi, m iyi yi-venim
 he 3SG-go ES-call brother:his before POSS-his, and he 3SG-come

m-em-eki nii mori. iyi y-em-eri nei gehli san ov-nalalau im
 ES-FP-climb tree PREF. he 3SG-FP-throw:down coconut three BENF PL-boy and

sai san iyi. iyi yi-tani lenau m-om-alvi nei, leil il-amwni ne. behnuri
 one BENF he. he 3SG-take knife ES-FP-cut coconut, they 3PL-drink water. after

leil il-antemni neven m-em-eni. leil il-om-ovovu nemgen urkris, leil
 they 3PL-scrape:out food ES-FP-eat. they 3PL-FP-play time small, they

il-atalahamus. leil il-ohomol ra dena m-ahaleiba. soku leil il-am-elepa,
 3PL-feel:sleepy. they 3PL-lie:down LOC ground ES-sleep. when they 3PL-FP-wake,

il-ohomus. imo nemŋen davau neveŋ ah-leil. sai yalu y-em-ogo, 'yau-eba
 3PL-hungry. *this time not food POSS-their. one child 3SG-FP-say, '1SG-IRR:go*
 m-aŋsi ula; iyi ɣ-obo-yau neveŋ'.
 ES-IRR:see mother; she 3SG-IRR:give-1SG food'.

yalu sai somu y-ovili m-om-ogo, 'yau-eba soku; iyi y-ovo-yau
child one more 3SG-speak ES-FP-say, '1SG-IRR:go also; she 3SG-give-1SG
 neveŋ ahaninu'.
food yesterday'.

leil-ye il-iva m-ogsi ehinen. 'ula, kul-a-n-agaiŋi neveŋ', sai
they-PL 3PL-go ES-see mother. 'mother, 1EXC:PL-PRES-IRR-want food', one
 yalu y-ovili. 'ga k-abo-kim sai neveŋ ku?'.
child 3SG-speak. 'you:SG 2SG-IRR:give-1EXC:PL one food Q?'.

'ihi nup. armai yag-abohŋ-imi alauriekia ku? yau-ovohŋ-imi neveŋ
'here yam. good 1SG-IRR:give-2PL all Q? 1SG-give-2PL food
 ahaninu. naŋko kit-a-n-agaiŋi neveŋ, il-iva m-arekabu ari-gimi.
yesterday. if 2PL-PRES-IRR-want food, PL-go ES-find POSS-your:PL.
 il-etu-teti yera!'.
 PL-NEG-come:back today!'.
 ov-nalalau il-tani neveŋ mori ehinen y-ovohŋ-il m-il-emivai. leil
 PL-boy 3PL-take food REL mother 3SG-give-3PL ES-PL-go:away. they
 il-om-arap ra diŋe nii m-em-aribohonin wor-eni neveŋ. ra imo nemŋen
 3PL-FP-sit LOC underneath tree ES-FP-begin INS-eat food. LOC this time
 sai yalu y-em-ogo, 'yau-mom-ogsi sai umek'.
 one child 3SG-FP-say, '1SG-??-see one snake'.

leŋen il-em-taleŋi m-om-ogo, 'k-ogsi-du?'
 other 3PL-FP-ask ES-FP-say, '2SG-see-where?'.
 'ompeyok, burubut nivat. ra-dani!'
 'over:there, near stone. ??-IRR:take!'

ko ov-nalalau il-em-ivani umek, m-etu-agaiŋi ril-eba burubut. yalu
 but PL-boy 3PL-FP-fear snake, ES-NEG-want ??-IRR:go near. child
 saiagan y-em-ogo, 'marima umek ɣ-aŋsi-gis m-ivani-gis'.
 one 3SG-FP-say, 'now snake 3SG-IRR:see-1INC:PL ES-fear-1INC:PL'.

umek y-ohomol m-ihili ra diŋe nivat, m ov-nalalau
 snake 3SG-lie:down ES-crawl LOC underneath stone, and PL-boy

il-om-etu-ogsi nemŋen sai somu. leil il-em-aribohonin wor-avoya bagan
 3PL-FP-NEG-see time one more. they 3PL-FP-begin INS-walk:about very
 m-arekabu dahami la wor-ovovu.
 ES-find thing ?? INS-play.

Free translation

(Note: In some cases I have made minor changes in the English version of Capell's text in order to fit the sense of the Ura version better.)

A little boy had some food. He put it on a mat. Another boy came along. He saw the food and took it. He gave some to his brother, and the two of them ate it. Then the first boy came back. He looked on the mat but could not see the food. Then he saw the two boys eating. "Why are you two eating my food?", he asked. "Have you none of your own?"

"We have no food, and you were eating".

"Who told you to take my food?"

"No-one. We saw the food and we wanted it, so we took it".

"But I want it; it's mine".

"I will give you some back, and then we can all eat".

They divided the food and sat on the mat and ate it. When the food was finished, one boy said, "I want more. Are there any coconuts?"

"Yes, there are coconuts on that tree, if you want to climb".

"I cannot climb that tree, because it's a big tree, and I am very small. But my big brother can climb it and get ripe coconuts for us".

He went and called his older brother, and he came and climbed the tree. He threw down three coconuts for the boys, and one for himself. He got a knife and cut the coconuts, and they drank the water. Then they scraped out the meat and ate it. They played for a short time, then they felt sleepy. So they lay down on the ground and slept. When they woke up they were hungry. Now they had no food. One boy said, "I will go to see Mum; she will give me food".

Another boy said, "I will go too; she gave me food yesterday".

They all went to see his mother. "Mum, we want some food", one boy said. "Will you give us some food?"

"Here is a (some?) yam. Must I feed you all? I gave you food yesterday. If you want food, go and find your own. Don't come back today!"

The boys took the food which the mother had given them and went away. They sat under a tree and began to eat the food. Then one boy said, "I can see a snake".

The others asked, "Where do you see it?"

"Over there, near the stone. Let's catch it!"

But the boys were afraid of the snake, and did not want to go near it. One boy said, "Now the snake can see us and he's frightened of us".

The snake crawled away under a stone, and the boys didn't see it any more. They began to walk about looking for something to play with.

4.2. The Prodigal Son

This second text, again from Capell's fieldnotes, is an Ura version of the Prodigal Son story. It appears to be an almost direct translation of the original Yoku Bible version, which is not really a satisfactory example of natural speech: the inverted style of the English version, as in 'There came a great hunger to the land', is faithfully represented in both the Yoku and Ura versions, despite the fact that both these languages never, in normal speech,

place the subject after the verb. Nevertheless, I include this text here as another useful example of the Ura language — mainly because there is so little information of any kind available.

sai erema ov-namla ari-yi gelu ov-narmon. erema urkris y-em-ovili
one man PL-child POSS-his two PL-male. man small 3SG-FP-speak
 bohqi rimin m-em-ogo, 'dera, ovo-yau leŋen netevote san yau'. m iyi
 DAT father ES-FP-say, 'father, give-1SG some goods BENF I'. and he
 y-em-erapurak-ŋi leil netevote ari-yi.
 3SG-FP-divide-TRANS them goods POSS-his.

behnuri, davau nelin suat, erema urkris y-em-esebin-ta
after, not day many, man small 3SG-FP-spontaneously-gather
 netevote-ye m-iva ra nivenu ituga m-em-asivieŋi netevote-ye yuwi oŋi
 goods-PL ES-go LOC land foreign ES-FP-waste goods-PL there INS
 nagesi. im soku iyi y-em-iviehinie-ye, yi-venim n-ohomus dahamas ra
 ill:living and when he 3SG-FP-finish-PF, 3SG-come NOM-hungry big LOC
 nivenu yuwi m iyi g-aribohonin m-um-ohomus, m-em-iva m-em-esebin-sari
 land there and he 3SG-begin ES-??-hungry, ES-FP-go ES-FP-spontaneously-
 attach:self
 ara-n sai erema ra nivenu yuwi, m iyi y-em-tavoli ra nera nivenu
 LOC-his one man LOC land there, and he 3SG-FP-send LOC place land
 wor-ovos-il ov-nimgas, m iyi y-a-n-agaiŋi wor-eni dan nivan ov-nimgas
 INS-feed-3PL PL-pig, and he 3SG-PRES-IRR-want INS-eat skin fruit PL-pig
 il-em-eni, davau sai y-em-ovohŋi neveŋ.
 3PL-FP-eat, not one 3SG-FP-give food.

iyi y-em-taru-ves m-em-esebin-ovili bohqi m-em-ogo, 'ovn-livsau
 he 3SG-FP-think-INT ES-FP-spontaneously-say DAT:3SG ES-FP-say, 'PL-servant
 ari dera dahamas, leil il-am-dabeliak neveŋ, im yau-ni-mis
 POSS father many, they 3PL-PRES-IRR:have:in:abundance food, and 1SG-IRR-die
 ŋi n-ohomus. ya-dadek m-eba bohqi dera, m-amli bohqi m-ago,
 INS NOM-hungry. 1SG-IRR:arise ES-IRR:go DAT father, ES-say DAT:3SG ES-IRR:say,
 'dera, yau-m-abu-sat ra bogup mu nihimi-ga, davau yau armai mo soku
 'father, 1SG-MP-do-INT LOC heaven and eye-2SG, not I good PURP PURP
 il-amli m-ago yau ner-um. obu-yau soku ovn-livsau ari-ka'.
 3PL-say ES-IRR:say I son-2SG. make-1SG like PL-servant POSS-your:SG'.

iyi yi-tadek mi-venim bohqi rimin, im rimin y-ogsi soku iyi isut,
 he 3SG-arise ES-come DAT father, and father 3SG-see when he far,
 m-em-osen-tavarili ara-n, m-em-afire m-ohomol ra nan m-em-soŋu ara-n.
 ES-FP-greatly-pity LOC-his, ES-FP-run ES-fall LOC neck ES-FP-kiss LOC-his.
 nehni ari-yi y-em-ovili bohqi m-em-ogo, 'dera, yau-m-abu-sat ra bogup
 son:his POSS-his 3SG-FP-say DAT:3SG ES-FP-say, 'father, 1SG-MP-do-INT LOC heaven
 mu nihimi-ga; davau yau armai mo soku il-amli m-ago yau ner-um'.
 and eye-2SG; not I good PURP PURP 3PL-say ES-IRR:say I son-2SG'.

ko rimin y-em-ovili bohqi-l ovn-livsau ari-yi m-em-ogo, 'eleki m-venim
but father 3SG-FP-say DAT-3PL PL-servant POSS-his ES-FP-say, 'take ES-come
 namlauan laupe, nusian armai, ma-vaiiqi iyi, m-ovki-sep natorvan ra degen
garment long, large good, ES-clothe he, ES-put-down armlet LOC hand
 ari-yi, im wor-enogo ra nowin, m-eleki m-venim kaf nuval mi-tai;
POSS-his, and INS-walk LOC leg:his, ES-take ES-come calf fat ES-kill;
 ul-geni m-im-avos, popowo imo ner-uk yi-mis m-om-omorop,
LINC:PL-IRR:eat ES-??-rejoice, because this son-my 3SG-die ES-??-alive,
 m-iviegi m-om-ogsi'. leil il-em-aribohonin wor-avos.
ES-lost ES-??-see'. they 3PL-FP-begin INS-rejoice.

nehni belek ari-yi ra duhmu; yi-venim mo-burubut sugai m-em-elqi
son:his elder POSS-his LOC garden; 3SG-come ES-approach house ES-FP-hear
 n-arufa im n-empgo. iyi y-em-ovlehegi sai livsau m-em-talegi m-em-ogo,
NOM-sing and NOM-dance. he 3SG-FP-call one servant ES-FP-ask ES-FP-say,
 'da imo?'. m iyi y-em-ovili m-em-ogo, 'iyi yi-venim ah-mu-sai, rimin
'what this?'. and he 3SG-FP-say ES-FP-say, 'he 3SG-come brother:your:SG, father
 yi-tai kaf nuval, popowo iyi yi-tani iyi n-omorop im horoq-ves'.
3SG-kill calf fat, because he 3SG-get he NOM-alive and strong-INT

m iyi y-em-aragai m-etu-va banaq, im rimin yi-venim ariye bohqi,
and he 3SG-FP-angry ES-NEG-go inside, and father 3SG-come outside DAT:3SG,
 m-em-tesok ara-n. ko iyi y-em-tamsi m-em-ovili bohqi rimin m-em-ogo,
ES-FP-beg LOC-his. but he 3SG-FP-answer ES-FP-say DAT father ES-FP-say,
 'elqi! namgainiliya suat yau-m-entoroq ara-ga, ya-m-etu-arek sai
'hear! year many 1SG-PRES-IRR:serve LOC-2SG, 1SG-MP-NEG-break one
 nebasewoqi ari-ka. im k-otu-ovo-yau sai nehni nani mo soku
order POSS-your:SG. and 2SG-NEG-give-1SG one child:its goat PURP PURP
 yau-p-avos-wi dal l-ahuro. ko soku yi-venim imo ner-um
1SG-COND-rejoice-INT COM PL-friend:my. but when 3SG-come this son-your:SG
 mori y-ilaviagoqi neven ari-ka gaheli ov-narvin dabuni, ki-tai san
REL 3SG-waste food POSS-your:SG with PL-woman misleading, 2SG-kill BENF
 iyi kaf nuval'.
he calf fat'.

m iyi y-em-ovili bohqi m-em-ogo, 'ner-uk, ga li yau uvu, m
and he 3SG-FP-say DAT:3SG ES-FP-say, 'son-my, you:SG COM I always, and
 ari-ka ov-dahami-da ari-yau alauriekia. ereqi armai m-eleqeleg-ves
POSS-your:SG PL-thing-?? POSS-my all. stay good ES-be:glad-INT
 m-en-avos-wi, popowo iyi ah-mu-sai yi-mis m-om-in-omorop, m-iviegi
ES-??-rejoice-INT, because he brother:your:SG 3SG-die, ES-??-??-alive, ES-lose
 m-om-ogsi'.
ES-??-see'.

Free translation

A man had two sons. The younger said to his father, "Father, give me some of the goods belonging to me". And he divided his goods between them.

Not many days later, the younger son gathered his goods together and went to a foreign land and there he wasted his goods through ill-living. And when he had gone through everything, a great famine came to that land, and he began to get hungry, and he went and attached himself to one man in that country there, who sent him to a place to feed pigs, and he wanted to eat the skins of the fruit that the pigs ate, but there was no-one to give him food.

He pondered on this and said to himself, "My father has many servants, and they have plenty of food, while I will die of hunger. I will arise and go to my father and say to him, 'Father, I have done evil in the sight of heaven and in your eyes, and I am not worthy to be called your son. Make me like your servants'".

He arose and came to his father, and his father saw him when he was still a long way off, and greatly pitied him, and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him. The son said to him, "Father, I have done evil in the sight of heaven and in your eyes; I am not worthy to be called your son".

But his father said to his servants, "Bring long garments, large and fine, and clothe him, and put rings on his hands and shoes on his feet, and bring the fatted calf and kill it; let us eat and rejoice, because this my son was dead and is alive, was lost and is found". And they began to celebrate.

His older son was in the garden; he came near to the house and heard singing and dancing. He called a servant and asked, "What's this?". And he replied, "Your brother has come, and your father has killed the fatted calf, because he has got him back alive and well".

And he was angry and did not go inside, and his father came outside to him, and pleaded with him. But he answered his father and said, "Listen! Many years I am serving you, and I did not break one of your orders. Yet you did not give me one kid so that I could celebrate with my friends. But when this son of yours comes, who has wasted your food with women of ill repute, you kill the fatted calf for him".

And he replied to him, "My son, you are with me always, and all my things are yours. You should rejoice and be glad, because your brother was dead, and is alive, was lost and is found".

5. VOCABULARY

The word lists given below represent all the Ura lexical data that are presently available. They have been taken (in order of quantity) from Capell's fieldnotes, my own fieldnotes, Gordon 1889, and Ray 1893. The first section, Ura-English, lists all the Ura items in alphabetical order; *g* has been ordered after *g* and *ŋ* after *n*; *ð* (which may or may not be phonemic) is ordered after *i*. Items which are unsourced are those which I recorded; if the same forms are recorded elsewhere, this has not been noted. The sources for other items are marked (C=Capell, G=Gordon, R=Ray). Similar conventions are used as were used in the Sie vocabulary in the preceding chapter. The second section is an English-Ura index.

5.1. Ura-English

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <p>abare G <i>keep, save, protect</i></p> <p>abas <i>heavy</i></p> <p>ade 1. <i>stand</i> [C:w/ade]</p> <p>ade 2. <i>cry</i> [nasalised form of root?
If so, the root may be ote or are]</p> <p>afire <i>run</i> [cf. avire; C:afide]</p> <p>ahuro C <i>my friend</i> [G:afro]</p> <p>agaegat <i>sharp</i></p> <p>agaiŋi C <i>want</i></p> <p>agum <i>black</i></p> <p>ahalei <i>lie down</i> [C:ahale]</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">ahaleiba <i>sleep</i> [C:ahale:ba, im/
aleibo, G:n/ahleimpa]</p> <p>ahali <i>stab, sew</i></p> <p>ahaninu C <i>yesterday</i></p> <p>ai <i>blunt</i></p> <p>al <i>rotten</i></p> <p>alam <i>old</i></p> <p>alaurie C <i>all</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">alauriekia <i>all</i></p> <p>ale <i>swim, wash (oneself)</i></p> <p>algayek <i>float</i> (v)</p> <p>altali <i>wash (sth.)</i> [C:ateli]</p> <p>alua <i>vomit</i></p> <p>alvi <i>cut</i> [C:alevi]</p> <p>amanin C <i>cry, weep</i></p> | <p>amli C <i>speak</i> [cf. ovili, li] [n]</p> <p>ampohol <i>turn</i> [nasalised consonant
suggests that root may well be
avohol or ovohol]</p> <p>amwni 1. <i>drink</i>
2. <i>suck</i> [C:amweni]</p> <p>anompugon C <i>woman, girl</i></p> <p>antemni C <i>scrape out</i></p> <p>aŋka <i>straight</i></p> <p>aŋkau <i>lake</i></p> <p>ara- C form of ra, locative/
causative preposition [note G
has arani-, dative preposition]</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">ara-da C <i>why</i> [cf. ra, da]</p> <p>aragai C <i>be angry</i></p> <p>arap <i>sit</i></p> <p>arari C <i>sweet</i></p> <p>arek C <i>break</i></p> <p>arekabu C <i>look for</i></p> <p>aribohonin C <i>begin</i> [n]</p> <p>ariye C <i>outside</i></p> <p>armai <i>good</i> [CG:aremai]</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">armai-ves <i>smooth</i></p> <p>arŋap C* <i>to taste</i> [C:arðŋap]</p> <p>arufa <i>sing</i></p> <p>arvani <i>spit</i> [C:n/aluvan]</p> <p>arvasi <i>shoot</i> [C:arevasi]</p> <p>arvu <i>hit</i></p> |
|--|---|

asivienji C *to waste*

asor C* *call out, cry out* [C: n/asorie]

asua *to paddle* [cf. orasua]

at 1. *bad* [C:w/at 'sin, bad']
2. *dirty*

atalahamus C *feel sleepy*

atam G *power*

atiruai C *before*

auau *hot*

av-...-sai C *brother* [cf. avinsai, 'his brother', avuksai 'my brother' etc.]

avatura C *hold*

avire *flow* [cf. afire]

avogat C *fight* [n]

avos C *rejoice*

avowat-ur G *bad* [cf. at]

avoya C *walk around*

avurkris C* *young man* [cf. urkris]

awin C *husband* [G:auin]

B

bagan C *very*

baluwalip C *evening, night*

banaj C *inside*

barmonuk *heart*

behnuri C *then, next* (conj.)

belek C *elder*

belmela *night* [C:benbela]

bentop *ashes*

bogup C *sky*

bohni C *stump* (?)

bohji C *dative preposition, to, for* [G:bu-, locative preposition]

bolagis C *midday*

burubut 1. *short*
2. *near* (prep. and adv.)
3. *come near, approach*

D

da C *what?*

dabuni C *misleading* (?)

dahalini C *kill* [possibly tahalini?]

dahalua C *village*

dahamas *big, many, thick* [C also damas]

davaui-dahamas *few*

dahami C *thing*

dahmi G *temptation*

daiyaiye G *peace*

dal *taro* [C:idal]

dan 1. *back*

dan 2. *skin* [cf. nogolesidan]

dauvu C* *remain* [possibly tauvu?; C:yem/dauvu]

davaqi *throw* [possibly tavaqi?]

davau *not*

davaui *no* [C:davau, q.v.]

davaui-dahamas *few* [cf. dahamas]

davitavi C *feel* [possibly tavitavi?]

dayali C *shadow*

de 1. 1. *sea*
2. *salt*

de 2. C *and, and then* (joining clauses)

delqen *ear* [C:deliqen]

dena *earth, ground*

deqen C *hand, finger*

deqin C *some* [cf. leqen]

dera *father!* (voc.) [C also dega.

I elicited dera used both vocatively and referentially — dera ariyi 'his father' — but C records the referential rimin (q.v.)]

deverwiyau *wet*

dige- C 1. *underneath* 2. *shade* [cf. dige nii, shade of a tree]

dompurwai 1. *grass* 2. *forest, bush*

dorpiſ C* *lightning* [C:dorəpiſ]
 dovon *belly*
 dua *where?, which? (of place)*
 dua nivenu *where? (=which place)*
 duhmus C *garden* [G:dughmus 'plan-
 tation']

E

eda 1. G *be, abide, remain*
 [possibly eta?]
 eda 2. *that*
 ehelip *red*
 ehinen C *mother* [R:ihnin]
 eki C *climb*
 elei *scratch* [C:n/ele]
 elek *thick*
 eleki C *take*
 eleki m-venim C *bring*
 eleniſi G *forgive* [maybe
 efieleniſi??]
 eleſeleſ-ves C *glad, be*
 elepa C *wake up* (intr.)
 elepele C *wake up* (intr.)
 elſi *hear* [C:eteſi]
 emetet *fear, be afraid*
 emivai C *go away*
 empgo C* *dance* (v) [C:n/empəgo]
 eni 1. C *eat* [cf. keni]
 eni 2. *burn*
 enim *come* [cf. venim]
 erekep C* *fly* (v) [C:yem/erekep]
 erema 1. *man* [C:nerema, G:yirema]
 erema 2. *this, that* (previous
 reference?)
 ereſi C 1. *have* 2. *put*
 erevavui C *divide up*
 eri C *throw down*
 eriſi G *be, stay*

eriſiyeg C *try, strive* [cf.
 neriſiyeg]
 etepurakſi C *divide*
 etoroſ C *serve*
 eyi C *no, not*

G

ga *you* (sg.)
 gaheli C *with*
 gehli *three* [CG:geheli]
 gelu *two*
 gim *we* (exc.)
 gimi *you* (pl.)
 giſei *when?, which? (of time)*
 giſei nelin *when? (=which time)*
 gis *we* (inc.)
 giſe C *but*
 give C *how many?*
 givin *mouth* [C:'tooth']

G

gan *only* [as in ſaiagan 'one';
 cf. ſai. G gives gan which in
 his orthography = ſan; C suggests
 that gan is probably correct]

H

horoſ C *strong*

I

ibin *smell* (intr.)
 ihi C *here*
 ihili C *crawl*
 ilaviagoſi C *waste* (v)
 im CG *and* (joining clauses??)
 imo C *that*
 iniri *tie*
 ip C *go down, descend* [n]

irais C *grandfather*
 ispi *count*
 isut C *far*
 itais *moon*
 italiau *full*
 itanis *dance* (v) [Bisl.]
 itaotao *dry*
 ituga C *foreign, strange*
 iva *go*
 ivani C *fear, be afraid*
 iviegi C *be lost*
 iviehinie C *to finish*
 iyi *he, she, it*

J

ðbelefi C *whale*
 ðrðkunaiai *fog*

K

kaf C *calf* [Eng./Bisl.]
 keni *eat* [cf. eni]
 ko G *but*
 ku C 1. or 2. question-tag
 kumala *sweet potato* [Bisl.?)

L

lakah *rat*
 lama 1. C *sugarcane*
 lama 2. *hard, strong, tight*
 lamapa G *large*
 lat *fat* (n) [cf. natal]
 laupe *long* [cf. G:lauepe 'tall']
 leil *they* [G:lei]
 lemelu CG *four* [cf. section 2.4.]
 lenau *knife* [cf. nau]
 leqelegen C *finger* [cf. legen]
 legen 1. *wing* [C: 'hand'; cf. loqun,
 leqelegen]

legen 2. C *others* [cf. deqin]
 les *hunt*
 li 1. *say* [cf. amli, owili]
 li 2. C *with* (comitative)
 livan CG *wife*
 livsau C *servant*
 loqun *hand* [cf. legen]
 lurem G *ten*

M

m C *and* [var. of im before a
 vowel]
 mama *mother*
 mampum C *before* (?), *older* (?)
 maqkam *sun* [C: magam; G: nihmi
 umuqum]
 maqkilemil C *liver*
 marima C *now*
 maruqi C *leave* [G: 'from']
 melile C *smooth*
 melyeq *yellow* [cf. uniaq]
 menuku *bird*
 meves *right* (hand)
 milik *breast* [Bisl.]
 mis *die*
 misikai *five* [CG: misai 'six'; cf.
 section 2.4.]
 misikai-gelu *seven*
 misikai-saigan *six*
 mo 1. C *more* [= momu?]
 mo 2. *and* (joining noun phrases?)
 mogum *green*
 momu C *more*
 mor *left* (hand)
 mori CG *previous reference,*
relative pronoun [C: 'the afore-
 said']
 mosi 1. *star* [cf. umse]
 mosi 2. C *to/towards* (?)
 mova C *outrigger float*

MW

mwagas *pig* [C:numðgasi]

N

nafunin C *forehead*
 nahalin C* *egg* [possibly naharin?]
 nahavan *seed*
 naiki C* *mat*
 naiqi *thing*
 naiyai G *sky*
 nalalau CG *boy*
 nalampon C *fish-net*
 nalat *meat* [cf. lat]
 nalinowe *dog* [C:nadinowe, natinowe]
 naluamen *tongue*
 namas *clothes*
 namdoda C *moss*
 namla C *child*
 namlauan C *garment*
 namqainiliya C *year(s)* [cf. niliya,
 namqainin; G:numqai niliya 'years'?]
 namqainin *year* [G:numqai niliya
 'years'?]
 nampaveq *fire* [R:nampevaq]
 nampurokelin C *dawn*
 nan *neck*
 nanbut C* *sour* [C:nandbut]
 nani C *goat* [Bisl.]
 naqko *if* [C:nagu]
 napare C *lime*
 nareki G *action, deed*
 nari G *feast*
 narmon C* *male*
 narufa C *song, singsing* [cf. arufa]
 naruman C *oven*
 narvin *sand* [C:nalevin]
 natorvan C *armlet, ring*

nau *spear* (n) [cf. lenau]
 naituqa C* *knife* [cf. ituqa]
 naveligen C *hair* [cf. noveligen]
 navian C* *voice* [C: havian is a
 typographical error?]
 naviat C *spirit* (=being)
 navlaivin C *tail*
 navraq C* *mouth* [C:navðraq]
 ne *water*
 nebasewogi C *order* (n)
 neherop C *ripe coconut*
 nehni C cf. ner-
 nei C *coconut*
 nelai G *canoe, ship*
 nelelam *road*
 nelepon nima C *roof*
 nelihimi C *tears* [cf. nihimi]
 neliman C *outrigger*
 nelin 1. *day, time*
 giqe nilin *when?* (=which time)
 nelin 2. *nose*
 nelo G *kingdom*
 nelven *tooth*
 nemaniop C *river*
 nemqen C *time*
 ner- C *son, child* [cf. section
 3.1.1. re possessive forms; 3rd
 sg. is nehni]
 nerevnip C *rain* (n) [cf. revnip,
 nevip]
 neriqiyeg C *will* (n) [cf.
 eriqiyeg; G:neriqiyek]
 netai 1. C *one* [cf. sai]
 netai 2. C *young man*
 netan C *rafter*
 netevote C *goods*
 netukus C *salt*
 nevelogon C *wing*

neven C *food* [G:neven]
 nevip *rain* (n) [C:neviv,G:nebip;
 cf. revnip]
 nevivilau C *thin*
 nibeligen C *leaf*
 nihimi *eye* [cf. G:nihmi umugkum
 'sun' = eye + sun?]
 nihimurogovor C *door*
 nihinampis C *dark*
 nii *tree* [C: ni, G:nyi]
 nilaswi G *glory*
 niligen C *root*
 niliya C *year* [cf. namgainiliya]
 nima C *house*
 nelepon nima C *roof*
 nimal R *breadfruit*
 nimep C *dream* (n?)
 nimerovul C *a lie* [cf. novul]
 nimgas C *pig* [cf. mwagas]
 nimil R *fruit*
 nimpi *sugarcane* [C:nibi]
 ninin C *father*
 nivan 1. C *flesh*
 nivan erema C *kind of man able*
to do sth.
 nivan 2. 1. *fruit* [C:navani]
 C 2. *flower*
 nivan 3. *name* [G:nivana]
 nivani C *fear* (n) [cf. ivan]
 nivat *stone*
 nivenu 1. *earth, land* 2. *a place*
 dua nivenu *where?* (=which place)
 nivivat C *thick*
 nivoris *big*
 nðvɣun *flower* [C:novugon]
 nobuau *cloud*
 nogesi C *ill-living*
 nogolesidan C* *skin* [cf. dan]

nohomus C *hunger* [cf. ohomus]
 nohumunetren *knee*
 nokologun C *lip*
 nomolip C *quiet*
 nomorop C *life* [cf. omorop]
 nompua *mountain* [C:nobu:a]
 nompumetuo C *old man*
 nompun *head* [C:nobun]
 nompunaran C *friend*
 nomu *fish* [C:unomu 'fish, bird']
 nopum C *front*
 ra nopum C *first*
 norigompunu C *grief*
 nou- *leg, foot* [cf. section 3.1.1.
 re possessive forms; 3rd sg. is
 nowin]
 noveligen C *feather* [cf. naveligen]
 noviri C *sore* (n)
 novlinompun *hair on head* [cf. nompun]
 novliran *hair on body*
 novlogun C* *beard* [C:novðlogun]
 novoluman C *egg*
 novsiak C *pus*
 novul C *language* [cf. novulu]
 novulu CG *word* [cf. novul]
 nowahanin *root*
 nowe *rope*
 nowin 1. C *fire*
 nowin 2. C cf. nou-
 nowiran *bone*
 nuɣðinðm *dust*
 nuɣonom-ra-dena *smoke* (n) [cf. dena]
 nup *yam*
 nusian C *large*
 nuval C *fat* (n)

O

o yes [C:oo]
obu C *do, make* [G:ubu; may be
 ompu - cf. ompurak]
ogo C *say* (quotative)
ogoli *dig* [C:m/ogðri]
ogori *know* [C:yem/ogoli, G:ogori]
ogsi *see* [C:ogðsi]
ohomol 1. *fall*
 C 2. *lie down*
ohomus C *be hungry*
omo C *be finished*
omorop *live, be alive* [C:n/omorop]
ompeyok C *over there*
ompurak *to work* [cf. obu]
oŋkorua *laugh* [C:d/uŋkorowo]
orasua *paddle* [cf. asua]
oromnuk C *nest* (?)
orvogot *walking-stick, crutch, staff*
otai *kill* [C:yam/adai, prob. nasa-
 lised nonpast form]
ovgor *walk* [C:ovogon]
ovili C *say* [cf. li, amlī]
ovki-sep C *put down*
ovleheŋi C *call*
ovoholouŋ *hold*
 ovoholouŋ-lama *squeeze*
ovohŋi CG *give* [ovo- w. some object
 pronouns]
ovosi 1. *blow (as a fire)*
 2. C *feed*
ovovu *play*

P

poholit 1. *bite*
poholit 2. *burn*
popolevo C *morning*
popowo C *because* [G:popowosa]
pulau C *lazy*

R

ra locative preposition [G also
has ara]
revnip *to rain* [cf. nerevnip,
nevip]
rimin C *father* [G:rimen]

S

sahalegat *liver*
sai *another, different, a certain*
[CG: 'one']
sai somu C *another, one more*
saigan *one* [cf. sai, gan]
sakai C *one*
samleil *some* [cf. leil]
san- *benefactive preposition*
sari C *attach oneself*
saveti *push*
simanlou C *men's house*
simheli G *eight*
simhelu G *seven*
sinivat G *nine*
soku C 1. *also, as, too* 2. *when*
somu C *again, more*
sai somu C *another, one more*
soqu C *to kiss*
-su G *plural-marker, all*
suat C *many*
suelem C *five* [cf. suorem]
suqai C *house*
suorem *four* [G: 'five'; cf. suelem;
cf. also section 2.4.]
suva *white*

T

ta C *gather together*
 tabeliak C *have in abundance*
 tabuni G *lead*

tadek C *arise*
 tai C *kill*
 taleŋi C *ask*
 tamsi C *answer*
 tani C *take, hold, catch*
 taru C *think*
 tavarili C *to pity*
 tavleheŋi *split*
 tavolo C *send*
 ten *ten* [Bisl.]
 tesok C *beg*
 teti C *come back*
 tompor C *holy*

U

ubeu C *shark*
 uhnomu G *guts, intestines*
 uhunomun *fingernail*
 ula C *mother* (voc.)
 uleŋ C *fly* (n)
 ulpon *cold* [C:urpwon]
 umek *snake, worm*
 umitar G *rainbow*
 umova G *moon*
 umse CG *star* [cf. mosi]
 umuwe C *prawn*
 uniaŋ C *yellow* [cf. melyeŋ]
 unomu C *bird* [cf. fish]
 unognabavin C *smoke* (n)
 uŋka *blood*
 ureverek G *war*
 urkris *small, narrow* [C:urekis;
 G:urekis 'sharp']
 urua C *fowl* [also uruwa]
 urva *river*
 uvu C *always* [G:uvo]
 uvuhnumu G *holy*

uvurek C *house*
 uyo 1. C *grandmother*
 uyo 2. G *God*

V

vai-iŋi C *clothe, put on (clothes)*
 vasiviu C *grass skirt*
 vau *new*
 venim C *come* [cf. enim]
 vetmis *sky* [C:fetimis]
 vin *sister*
 vogot *walk with a crutch* [cf.
 orvogot 'walking-stick', suggesting
 verb vogot]
 vu *rub*

W

wavlau *wind* [C:wavilau, G:wavelau]
 wi *who?*
 wima *what?*
 wis C *octopus, squid*
 wit *louse*
 worade C *staff* [cf. adel]
 worenogo C *shoe*

Y

yalide C *lobster, crayfish*
 yalu *child*
 yaremis C *spirit (=ghost)*
 yarmon *boy* [C:ar/iaramun 'male, man']
 yarumne G *chief*
 yarvin *woman* [C:yasevin, ar/iarevin,
 yareven; G:ar/iareven]
 yau *I*
 yauuŋa C *elbow*
 yavu C *turtle*
 -ye C *plural-marker*
 yera C *today* [G:yeraba]

ye*vi* pull
 yo*but* C navel
 yo*mog* C mosquito

yo*rpa* far
 yu*wi* C 1. that
 2. there

5.2. English-Ura

A

abide eda
 abundance, have in tabeliak
 action nareki
 afraid emetet, ivani
 again somu
 alive omorop
 all alaurie, alauriekia, -su
 also soku
 always uvu
 and im, mo, m
 and then de
 angry aragai
 another sai, sai somu
 answer tamsi
 approach burubut
 arise tadek
 armlet natorvan
 as soku
 ashes bentop
 ask tale*gi*
 attach oneself sari

B

back dan
 bad at, avowat-ur
 be eri*gi*, eda
 beard novlo*gun*
 because popowo
 before atiruai, mampum (?)
 beg tesok

begin aribohonin
 belly dovon
 benefactive preposition san-
 big dahamas, nivoris
 bird menuku, unomu
 bite poholit
 black agum
 blood u*n*ka
 blow (as a fire) ovosi
 blunt ai
 bone nowiran
 boy nalalau, yarmon
 breadfruit nimal
 break arek
 breast milik
 bring eleki m-venim
 brother av-...-sai
 burn eni, poholit
 bush dompurwai
 but ko, gise

C

calf kaf
 call ovlehe*gi*, asor
 canoe nelai
 catch tani
 certain, a sai
 chief yarumne
 child namla, ner-, yalu
 climb eki

clothe vai-iŋi

clothes namas

cloud nobuau

coconut nei

ripe coconut neherop

cold ulpon

come enim, venim

come back teti

come near burubut

count ispi

crawl ihili

crayfish yalide

crutch orvogot

cry amaniŋ, ade

cry out asor

cut alvi

D

dance (v) empgo, itanis

dark nihinampis

dative preposition bohŋi

dawn nampurokelin

day nelin

deed nareki

descend ip

die mis

different sai

dig ogoli

dirty at

divide etepurakŋi, erevavui

do obu

dog nalinowe

door nihimurogovor

dream (n?) nimep

drink amwni

dry itaotao

dust nuŋðinðm

E

ear delŋen

earth dena, nivenu

eat keni, eni

egg nahalin, novoluman

eight simheli

elbow yauuŋa

elder belek

evening baluwalip

eye nihimi

F

fall ohomol

far yorpa, isut

fat (n) lat, nuval

father rimin, ninin, dera

fear (v) emetet, ivani

(n) nivani

feast nari

feather noveliŋen

feed ovosi

feel davitavi

feel sleepy atalahamus

few davaui-dahamas

fight avogat

finger deŋen, leŋeleŋin

fingermail uhunomun

finish (v) iviehinie

be finished omo

fire nowin, nampaveŋ

first ra nopum

fish nomu

fish-net nalampon

five misikai, suelem

flesh nivan

float (v) algayek

outrigger float mova

flow avire
flower nâvɣun, nivan
fly (n) uleɣ
 (v) erekep
fog ɔrɔkunaiai
food neveɣ
foot nou-
forehead nafunin
foreign ituɣa
forest dompurwai
forgive eleniɣi
four suorem, lemelu
fowl urua
friend nompunaran, ahuro
front nopum
fruit nivan, nimil
full italiau

G

gather together ta
garden duhmus
garment namlauan
ghost yaremɨs
girl anompugon
give ovohɣi
glad, be eleɣeleɣ-ves
glory nilaswi
go iva
 go away emivai
 go down ip
goat nani
God uyo
good armai
goods netevote
grandfather irais
grandmother uyo
grass dompurwai

grass skirt vasiviu
green mogum
grief noriɣompunu
ground dena
guts uhnomu

H

hair naveliɣen
 (on body) novliran
 (on head) novlinompun
hand loɣun, degen
hard lama
have ereɣi
 have in abundance tabeliak
he iyi
head nompun
hear elɣi
heart barmonuk
heavy abas
here ihi
hit arvu
hold ovoholouɣ, tani, avatura
holy tompor, uvuhnumu
hot auau
house nima, uvurek, suɣai
 men's house simanlou
how many? give
hunger nohomus
 be hungry ohomus
hunt les
husband awin

I

I yau
if naɣko
ill-living nogesi
inside banaɣ

intestines uhnomu
it iyi

K

keep abare
kill tai, otai, dahalini
kingdom nelo
kiss (v) soqu
knee nohumunetren
knife nauituŋa, lenau
know ogori

L

lake aŋkau
land nivenu
language novul
large nusian, lamapa
laugh oŋkorua
lazy pulau
lead tabuni
leaf nibeliŋen
leave maruŋi
left (hand) mor
leg nou-
lie (n) nimerovul
lie down ahalei, ohomol
life nomorop
lightning dorpis
lime napare
lip nokoloŋun
live omorop
liver sahalegat, maŋkilemil
lobster yalide
locative preposition ra
long laupe
look for arekabu
lost, be iviegi

louse wit

M

make obu
male narmon
man erema
kind of a man nivan erema
men's house simanlou
old man nompumetuo
many dahamas, suat
mat naiki
meat nalat
midday bolagis
misleading dabuni
moon itais, umova
more somu, momu, mo
one more sai somu
morning popolevo
mosquito yomog
moss namdoda
mother ehinen, ula, mama
mountain nompua
mouth givin, navraq

N

name nivan
narrow urkris
navel yobut
near (prep. & adv.) burubut
neck nan
nest (?) oromnuk
net nalampon
new vau
next (conj.) behnuri
night belmela, baluwalip
nine sinivat
no eyi, davaui

nose nelin
not eyi, davau
now marima

O

octopus wis
old alam
older mampum
old man nompumetuo
one saiagan, sakai, netai
one more sai somu
only gan
or ku
order (n) nebasewogi
others legen
outrigger neliman
outrigger float mova
outside ariye
oven naruman

P

paddle (v) asua
 (n) orasua
peace daiyaiye
pig mwagas, nimgas
pity (v) tavarili
place (n) nivenu
plantation duhmus
play ovovu
plural-marker su, -ye
power atam
prawn umuwe
previous reference mori, erema
protect abare
pull yeve
pus novsiak
push saveti

put ereqi
put down ovki-sep
put on (clothes) vai-igi

Q

question-tag ku
quiet nomolip

R

rafter netan
rain (n) nevip, nerevnip
 (v) revnip
rainbow umitar
rat lakih
red ehelip
rejoice avos
relative pronoun mori
remain eda, dauvu
right (hand) meves
ring natorvan
ripe coconut neherop
river urva, nemaniop
road nelelam
roof nelepon nima
root nowahanin, niligen
rope nowe
rotten al
rub vu
run afire

S

salt de, netukus
sand narvin
save abare
say ovili, li, ogo
scrape out antemni
scratch elei

sea de
see ogsi
seed nahavan
send tavolo
servant livsau
serve etoroŋ
seven misikai-gelu, simhelu
sew ahali
shade diŋe-
shadow dayali
shark ubeu
sharp agaegat
she iyi
ship nelai
shoe wor-enogo
shoot arvasi
short burubut
sing arufa
singsing narufa
sister vin
sit arap
six misikai-saiagan
skin dan, nogolesidan
skirt vasiviu
sky vetmis, bogup, naiyai
sleep ahaleiba

feel sleepy atalahamus

small urkris
smell (intr.) ibin
smoke (n) nuŋonom-ra-dena, unognabavin
smooth armai-ves, melile
snake umek
some smaleil, deŋin
son ner-
song narufa
sore (n) noviri
sour nanbut

speak amli
spear nau
spirit naviat (=being), yaremis
 (=ghost)
spit arvani
split tavleheŋi
squeeze ovoholouŋ-lama
squid wis
stab ahali
staff orvogot, worade
stand ade
star mosi, umse
stay eriŋi
stick (=walking stick) orvogot
stone nivat
straight aŋka
strange ituŋa
strive eriŋiyeg
strong lama, horoŋ
stump bohni
suck amwni
sugarcane nimpi, lama
sun maŋkam
sweet arari
sweet potato kumala
swim ale

T

tail navlaivin
take tani, eleki
taro dal
taste (v) aŋap
tears nelihimi
temptation dahmi
ten lurem, ten
that eda, erema, imo yuwi
then behnuri

there yuwi
over there ompeyok
they leil
thick elek, dahamas, nivivat
thin nevivilau
thing naiŋi, dahami
think taru
this erema
three gehli
throw dawaŋi
throw down eri
tie iniri
tight lama
time nelin, nemŋen
to/towards (?) mosi
today yera
tongue naluamen
too soku
tooth nelven
tree nii
try eriŋiyeg
turn ampohol
turtle yavu
two gelu

U

underneath diŋe-

V

very bagan
village dahalua
voice navian
vomit alua

W

wake up (intr.) elepa, elepele
walk ovgor

walk around avoya
walk with a crutch vogot
walking-stick orvogot
want agaiiŋi
war ureverek
wash (oneself) ale
 (sth.) altali
waste (v) asivieŋi, ilaviagoŋi
water ne
we (exc.) gim
we (inc.) gis
weep amaniŋ
wet deverwiyau
whale ɔbelefi
what? wima, da
when soku
when? giŋei, giŋei nelin
where? dua, dua nivenu
which? dua (*of place*), giŋei (*of time*)
white suva
who? wi
why? ara-da
wife livan
will (n) neriŋiyeg
wind wavlau
wing leŋen, nevelogon
with gaheli, li
woman yarvin, anompugon
word novulu
work (v) ompurak
worm umek

Y

yam nup
year namŋainin, niliya, namŋainiliya
yellow melyeŋ, uniaŋ
yes o

yesterday ahaninu

you (pl.) gim

you (sg.) ga

young man netai, avurkris

NOTES

- ¹ The data on which this paper is based are derived in large part from Gordon (1889), fieldnotes of A. Capell (some of the lexical items of which were published in Tryon 1976), and my own fieldnotes.
- ² Unfortunately, the time available to both Capell and myself was far too short to even begin to collect verbal paradigms, while Gordon's scanty paradigms are often unglossed and, where glossed, often inconsistent – e.g. *yau no₈gori* is given as the past, future, and (probably) present of *know*! The analysis given here thus relies almost exclusively on the textual data in section 4.
- ³ The form for *brother*, like its cognate in Sie, is a compound of a root probably meaning *friend*, to which the possessive pronoun is attached, plus the form *one* – presumably, *the one true friend*.
- ⁴ Capell gives *ariyau*, *arika* for the first and second singular, while I recorded *arau*, *arka*.
- ⁵ The form *m* appears to be used before a vowel, while *im* (and more rarely *mo* or even *mu*) occurs before a consonant.

CHAPTER 5

UTAHA

Utaha, now extinct, was spoken in the north-west of Erromango. It was almost extinct when Gordon published his 1889 sketch of Yoku, and that sketch included only brief samples of Utaha. Available lexical data are presented in section 3 below, and these largely form the basis for the discussion of the phonology in section 1. Some attempt is also made to reconstruct the grammatical system (section 2), based in part on the only textual data, the Lord's Prayer (section 4).

1. PHONOLOGY

Gordon (1889) uses a similar orthography for Utaha as he does for the other Erromangan languages, including *i* for /ai/, *x* for /au/, and *c* for /oi/. If we presume that his Utaha orthography is consistent with his orthography for the other Erromangan languages, then his *g* represents /ŋ/ and his *g*g ('hard g') represents a prenasalised voiced velar stop. Macrons and other diacritics over vowels appear to mark non-phonemic differences in vowel quality; they are used irregularly and inconsistently, were largely ignored by Ray and especially Capell, and will likewise be ignored here.

Gordon makes absolutely no statement about Utaha pronunciation at all, and so any discussion depends on his orthography, on the orthography he uses for Sie (Yoku) and Ura, and on what we know of the phonology of those two languages. From these data, we can propose a phonological system something like that shown below:

(1)	p	t	k		i	u
	b	d	g		e	o
	f	s		h		a
	v		g			
	m	n	ŋ			
		l				
		r				
	w	y				

The voiced stops were probably prenasalised: there is a little internal grammatical evidence that the velar stop was prenasalised, and the only occurrence of *d* in Gordon's lists is preceded by *n*; however, the only occurrence of *b* is not preceded by *m*, which confuses the issue. But since Ura has prenasalised voiced

stops contrasting with simple voiceless stops, and since modern Sie has a pre-nasalised voiced alveolar stop and no other voiced stops, it seems likely that Utaha b, d, and g were prenasalised.

Evidence for the velar fricative *g* rests solely on Capell's retranscription of Gordon's data: Capell writes some of Gordon's *k*'s as *k* and others as *g*. Since Ura and Sie have a voiced velar fricative, and since Gordon did not orthographically distinguish this sound from *k* in either of those two languages, it is likely that Capell is correct.

The Utaha consonant system thus corresponds very closely with that established for Sie and, especially, for Ura. The only major difference is the absence of the velarised bilabials *pw* and *mw*. However, these are rare phonemes in all the Erromangan languages, and given the paucity of data, they may well have existed in Utaha.

The vowel system, consonant clustering, and the general phonotactic pattern seem to be very similar to both Ura and Sie. Because of the nature of the data, nothing can be said about stress or other suprasegmental phenomena.

2. GRAMMAR

The amount of grammatical information given by Gordon is minimal, and little can be deduced from the translation of the Lord's Prayer (section 4). The general impression, however, is that Utaha grammar is similar to that of Sie and Ura.

Pronouns. In the pronouns, the distinction between singular and plural, inclusive and exclusive first person, and subject/focal, object, and possessive forms occurs in much the same way as in the other Erromangan languages. The forms of the focal and (suffixed) object pronouns appear to be:

(2)	Focal		Object	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st inc.		<i>gis</i>		<i>-kis</i>
1st exc.	<i>yo</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>-yo</i>	<i>-kum</i>
2nd	<i>ko</i>	<i>kimi</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-kimi</i>
3rd	<i>iyi</i>	<i>yoril</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-kor</i>

Emphatic pronouns require a morpheme *pe*:

(3)	<i>yo im pe yo</i>	<i>I myself</i>
	<i>kom peŋ ko</i>	<i>thou thyself</i>
	<i>iyi pe iyi</i>	<i>he himself</i>
	<i>yoril im pe yoril</i>	<i>they themselves</i>

The distinction between inalienable or direct possession and alienable or active possession appears to have been maintained, although there is not much data on the former type. Direct possession is by suffixation to the noun; active possession involves a possessive morpheme, whose underlying form is probably *ete*, plus a free pronoun. As in other Erromangan languages, there is only one set of alienable possessives. The forms isolated are:

(4)	Inalienable/Direct		Alienable/Active	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st inc.		?		etigis
1st exc.	-ŋ	-kum	etiyo	etekum
2nd	-ko	?	eteko	etekimi
3rd	-n	-ira	etiŋi	eteyoril

In addition, the following possessive-like forms have been identified:

- (5) ira-mim *to/against us* (exc.)
 na-mu *thy* (as in namu nelo *thy kingdom*)

Nouns. Pluralisation of nouns is expressed by a suffix -yu; there is no evidence of a prefix corresponding to Sie, Ura ovn-, although the phrase uvum nevi-yu in the Lord's Prayer, which is the plural of nevi *year*, shows a form uvum which may be a plural prefix. There is some evidence of a personal plural prefix l: compare av-en-sogoi *his brother* with l-av-uŋ-sogoi *my brothers*.

Prepositions. Prepositional forms are similar to those in Sie and Ura. There is a locative ra (which may have the form ira- before pronouns - cf. (5) above), a dative (?) pi-, a benefactive nise- or nese-, and a form malini *from*. The forms pi- and nise-/nese- take pronoun suffixes (whether object or possessive is not easy to determine).

Verbs. Verbs are constructed on the same lines as those of Sie and Ura: person of subject, tense/aspect, and negative are marked by prefixes, and person of object by suffixes. The verb undergoes the common Erromangan feature of prefixation of n- to the root or nasalisation of the first consonant of the root in the non-past tenses. The verbal data given by Gordon, however, are so sparse as to prevent any serious analysis; most of his paradigms have no English translations, which makes the tense-markers somewhat difficult to identify. However, there is a prefix m- or vowel + m- marking present tense, a negative prefix etu-, and an echo-subject prefix m-. Person-of-subject markers *appear* to be something like:

(6)	Singular	Plural
1st inc.		l-
1st exc.	i-	kul-
2nd	k-	ki-
3rd	Ø- (?)	el-

Verbal nouns are formed with a prefix n-.

None of these statements regarding verbs - or, indeed, any other word-class - is inconsistent with the nature of Sie or Ura grammar, and many of the forms involved are cognate. Morphologically, then, Utaha is, as one might expect, an Erromangan-type language; there appear to be no real surprises for the linguist which are not already found in Sie.

Syntax. Since the sole piece of continuous text is a translation of the Lord's Prayer, almost nothing can be said about Utaha syntax. However, the following statements might be made:

- (a) object follows verb, indirect object being marked by a pronoun suffix:
- (7) efieliniŋ-kum eturat-yu ete-kum
 forgive-us:EXC sin-PL POSS-our:EXC
 Forgive us our trespasses

(b) adjective follows noun:

- (8) nevoŋ aramai
 food good
 Good food (translates *bread* in Lord's Prayer)

(c) active/alienable possessive follows noun:

- (9) eturat-yu ete-yoril
 sin-PL POSS-their
 Their trespasses

3. VOCABULARY

The list below gives all the Utaha lexical items that survive in the written records. Gordon's orthography has been modified in accordance with the phonology outlined in section 1 above. Additional items found in Ray (1893) or Capell (MSa, MSb) are marked as such by R or C; where the item is found only in the Lord's Prayer, and its gloss can thus only be approximate, this is indicated by the presence of 'p' following the item. Finally, an asterisk indicates that Gordon's original orthography has been modified by Capell; in such cases, Gordon's original form is given with the abbreviation G.

3.1. Utaha-English

aha	where?	im p	and [joining NPs only]
ahlumraq	sleep	iriis R	moon
aramai p	good	iso	spear (n)
atnelo	1. his canoe 2. his people [cf. nelo]	iyi	he, she, it
auwo	day after tomorrow	kalu	two
avensogoi *	his brother [G: avensokoi]	kihili	three
lavuŋsogoi *	my brothers	kimi	you (pl.)
efieliniŋi p	forgive	ko 1.	you (sg.)
enim p	come	ko 2. p	but
etninu	yesterday	kum	we (exc.)
etnuwoseme	day before yesterday	lemelu	four
etnuwosimpe	three days ago	levenahan	bow (n., weapon)
etura p	be, stay	malini p	from
eturat p	sin [cf. rat]	misegai C	six [cf. simsogoi]
etuiw	whose? [cf. uwi]	mori C	previous reference, relative pronoun [C: 'the aforesaid']
gis	we (inc.)	narolem	ten
horoŋ p	power	narolem-kalu	twenty
idowi p	always	narolem-otam-nuŋosogoi *	eleven
		[G:..nuŋosokoi]	

natekimoresah C 1. *compulsion, effort*
C 2. *determined*

nelin *day*

nelo *kingdom* [cf. atnelo]

nesekar *feast*

nevi p *year*

nevoŋ p* *food* [G:nevũŋ]

nilasuwi p *glory*

nimnim ŋkum * *sun* [G:nimnim ŋkum]

nimpeyiŋo *now*

nin *name*

nise- *benefactive preposition*
[also nese-]

noguwai * *tree* [G:nokuwai]

nogo * *when?* [G:nuŋo]

novau *coconut*

novil *word*

novonau *sea*

okori *know*

ompu * *do* [G:umpu]

oviŋi p *give*

pe *reflexive, self*

pi- *dative preposition*

polebu *tomorrow* [Note: G's medial
b without supporting m may re-
present either /b/, /p/, or
perhaps /v/]

popowose p *because*

ra p *locative preposition*

rat *sin* [cf. eturat]

simnalū *seven*

simniheli *eight*

simnivat *nine*

simsimpari p *keep, protect, save*

simsogoi * *six* [G:simsokoi; cf.
misegai]

sogoi * *one* [G:sokoi]

som p* *holy* [G:sum]

soŋku p* *as, like* [G:suŋku]

sukrim *five*

tapmi p *temptation*

taru p *want, wish*

taweve *not*

timen *father*

timo *father!* (voc.)

toreŋi p *lead*

tupmis *garden* [G:'plantation']

ude *blood*

umse *stars*

umu *fish*

unpukup p *heaven, sky, (or in
heaven, in the sky)*

utuvoregil * *war* [G:utuvorekil]

uvum p *plural, all*

uwi *who* (pl.)?

uyo *God*

uyu *water*

wi *who* (sg.)?

yamu *this*

yatumu *chief*

yo *I*

yore *today*

yoril *they*

yu p *plural, all*

yugi * *here* [G:yuki]

yumu *that*

yumu-yu *those* [G:'these']

yumup p *earth*

3.2. English-Utaha

all yu, uvum
always idowi
and im
as soŋku
be etura
because popowose
benefactive preposition nise-
blood ude
bow (n., weapon) levenahan
brother avensogoi, lavuŋsogoi
but ko
canoe atnelo
chief yatumu
coconut novau
come enim
compulsion natekimoresah
dative preposition pi-
day nelin
 day after tomorrow auwo
 day before yesterday etnuwoseme
 three days ago etnuwosimpe
determined natekimoresah
do ompu
earth yumup
effort natekimoresah
eight simniheli
eleven narolem-otam-nuŋosogoi
father timen, timo (voc.)
feast nesekar
fish umu
five sukrim
food nevoŋ
forgive efieliniŋi
four lemelu
from malini
garden tupmis

give oviŋi
glory nilasuwi
God uyo
good aramai
he iyi
heaven unpokup
here yuŋi
holy som
I yo
it iyi
keep simsimpari
kingdom nelo
know okori
lead toreŋi
like soŋku
locative preposition ra
moon iriis
name nin
nine simnivat
not tavewe
now nimpeyiŋo
one sogoi
people atnelo
plural yu, uvum
power horoŋ
previous reference mori
protect simsimpari
reflexive pe
relative pronoun mori
save simsimpari
sea novonau
seven simnalū
she iyi
sin rat, eturat
six misegai, simsogoi
sky unpokup

<i>sleep</i>	ahlumraŋ	<i>two</i>	kalu
<i>spear</i> (n)	iso	<i>want</i>	taru
<i>stars</i>	umse	<i>war</i>	utuvoregil
<i>stay</i>	etura	<i>water</i>	uyu
<i>sun</i>	nimnim oŋkum	<i>we</i> (exc.)	kum
<i>temptation</i>	tapmi	<i>we</i> (inc.)	gis
<i>ten</i>	narolem	<i>when?</i>	nogo
<i>that</i>	yumu	<i>where?</i>	aha
<i>they</i>	yoril	<i>who</i> (pl.)?	wi (sg.), uwi (pl.)
<i>this</i>	yamu	<i>whose?</i>	etuwi
<i>those</i>	yumu-yu	<i>wish</i> (v)	taru
<i>three</i>	kihili	<i>word</i>	novil
<i>three days ago</i>	etnuwosimpe	<i>year</i>	nevi
<i>today</i>	yore	<i>yesterday</i>	etninu
<i>tomorrow</i>	polebu	<i>you</i> (pl.)	kimi
<i>tree</i>	noguwai	<i>you</i> (sg.)	ko
<i>twenty</i>	narolem-kalu		

4. TEXT

A translation of the Lord's Prayer in Utaha was given in Gordon's appendix (Gordon 1889:84). This is reproduced here with the orthographic changes noted above. I have also attempted to give some idea of morphological boundaries in the text.

timen-kum unpokup; etura som nin ete-ko; enim na-mu nelo;
father-our:EXC in:sky; be holy name POSS-thy; come thy(?) kingdom;
ete-n-ompu natekimoresah m-in-taru ra yumup soŋku pe unpokup; oviŋ-kum
?-IRR-do effort ES-IRR-want LOC earth as ? in:sky; give-us:EXC
yore pe nelin nevoŋ aramai nise-kum; efieliniŋ-kum eturat-yu ete-kum
today ? day food good BENF-us:EXC forgive-us:EXC sin-PL POSS-our:EXC
soŋku kutem-afieliniŋ-kor eturat-yu ete-yoril mori el-ompu eturat ira-mim;
as 1EXC:PL: ?-forgive-them sin-PL POSS-their PREF 3PL-do sin LOC-us:EXC;
m-etu-toreŋ-kum ra tapmi, ko simsimpari ira-mim malini eturat;
ES-NEG-lead-us:EXC LOC temptation, but save LOC-us:EXC from sin;
popowose na-mu nelo, im horoŋ, im nilasuwi ete-ko, uvum nevi-yu, idowi,
because thy(?) kingdom, and power, and glory POSS-thy, PL(?) year-PL, always,
idowi. amen.
always. amen.

CHAPTER 6

SORUNG

Sorung, once the largest of the Erromangan languages, occupied the south-eastern half of the island. Like Utaha, it has become extinct, and almost no extant data on it are available. What is available is summarised below.

1. PHONOLOGY

From the small amount of lexical and grammatical data, it is impossible to dignify what follows with the title 'phonological statement'. Nevertheless, we can at least say that the following letters were used to represent Sorung sounds:

(1)	p	t	k	i	u
		d		e	o
		s	h	a	
	v		g		
	m	n	ŋ		
		l			
		r			
	w				

This resembles in many respects the sound systems of the other Erromangan languages, although it lacks *f* and *y*, and one might also expect to find evidence of *pw* and *mw*. While *d* is probably prenasalised (cf. *isenda their*), the absence of *b* and *g* may have one of two explanations: either (a) there is merely insufficient data, and Sorung, like Ura and Utaha, had the full set of prenasalised stops; or (b) Sorung phonology was more like Sie, which has a prenasalised voiced alveolar stop *d*, but lacks such stops in bilabial and velar positions.

2. GRAMMAR

The sole pieces of evidence regarding Sorung grammar are a few phrases from the Lord's Prayer and an alienable/active possessive paradigm. The possessive paradigm is:

(2)	Singular	Plural
1 inc.		sor it
1 exc.	sorun	soremam
2nd	sorum	soremi
3rd	isen	isenda [=iseda?]

Unfortunately, the few phrases from the Lord's Prayer, reproduced below as (3), give us a little more information on possession but on almost nothing else:

- (3) eti tumpora nin sorum -- taru sorum -- sat-su soremam --
 be holy name POSS:thy -- wish POSS:thy -- sin-PL POSS:our:EXC --
- it sorum lo
 because (?) POSS:thy kingdom
- Hallowed be thy name -- thy will -- our sins -- because thine is the kingdom*

It does seem, however, that the alienable possessive constituent may precede or follow the noun.

3. VOCABULARY

Extant Sorung lexical data are presented below. Forms from Gordon's (1889) sketch are marked G, from his Lord's Prayer Gp, and forms from Capell (MSa, MSb) are marked C. The orthographic decisions made for Utaha apply equally here.

eti G* <i>to stay, be</i>	ovun sie G <i>things, effects, property</i>
etni G <i>son</i>	
hu G <i>one</i>	sat G* <i>bad, sin</i>
irasie G <i>for what?</i>	sevani C <i>lost person or animal</i>
it G* <i>because</i>	sie G <i>what?</i>
lo G* <i>kingdom</i>	siema G <i>that which</i>
munsie C <i>what else?</i>	siklim G <i>five</i>
nahiven G <i>woman</i>	sosowi C <i>to hold with two hands</i>
naviran C <i>companion</i>	su G* <i>plural</i>
nelin diogives C <i>love, favour</i>	taru G* <i>will (n), to wish</i>
nempatap C <i>the north</i>	tumpora G* <i>holy</i>
nin G* <i>name</i>	vilik G <i>little</i>

CHAPTER 7

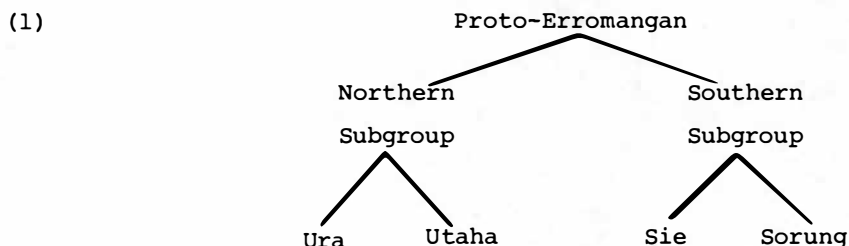
PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON PROTO-ERROMANGAN

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper represents a first attempt at reconstructing the language ancestral to the Erromangan languages which have been described in this volume. Obviously, the great variation in the quantity and quality of data available on those languages make it impossible to accomplish this task with a high degree of adequacy and accuracy. Nevertheless, it seems important to go as far as possible in reconstructing Proto-Erromangan, not least because the languages of this region diverge more than most from the common Oceanic type.

The reconstruction of Proto-Erromangan (PER) is done from the bottom up. That is, the evidence of the daughter-languages has been the major consideration in the reconstruction of the proto-language. I have paid little attention to earlier, well-attested reconstructed proto-languages like Proto-Austronesian (PAN) or Proto-Oceanic (POC), or to Proto-Erromangan's nearest ancestor, Proto-Southern Vanuatu (PSV). Further work on the history of the languages of Tanna and Aneityum will doubtless lead to refinements in what has been presented below.¹

Since the data are so scanty, no subgrouping hypothesis can be adequately tested. However, I am assuming for the purposes of this chapter that the two languages for which we have the greatest amount of data, Sie and Ura, belong to different first-order subgroups of Proto-Erromangan. I also assume that Utaha is most closely related to Ura, and Sorung to Sie. That is, I am proposing the following family tree for the Erromangan languages:



The basis for these assumptions will now be examined briefly. First, Ura and Utaha share both a numeral prefix (Ura g- or gV- Utaha k- or kV-) and an innovative form *lemelu* for *four* (though retaining a reflex of POC *pat *four* in the compound form for *nine*);² Sie has a numeral prefix d- or dV- and retains *pat as *four*:

(2)	Ura	Utaha	Sie
<i>two</i>	gelu	kalu	duru
<i>three</i>	gehli	kihili	dehel
<i>four</i>	lemelu	lemelu	dvat
<i>how many?</i>	give	-	deve

Second, Ura and Utaha make considerable use of a fused article yV- on personal nouns, whereas Sie does not appear to distinguish this from the general fused article nV-; e.g. Ura yarem_is, Sie natmas *spirit, ghost*; Ura yarumne, Utaha yatumu, Sie natemonog *chief*; Ura yarvin, Sie nahiven *woman*; and so on. Ura and Utaha also share a few grammatical morphemes which are not cognate with the Sie forms, including Ura, Utaha wi *who?* (cf. Sie mei), and Ura ari-, Utaha eti- (or ete) alienable possession marker (cf. Sie en-, hor-, Sorung sor-). Finally, both Ura and Utaha have accreted PER *at as a prefix (?) to the PER form *ninu *yesterday*: Ura ahaninu, Utaha etninu, Sie ninu. While these data are by no means conclusive, they tend to support the hypothesis proposed in (1) above.

One other assumption made by the family tree in (1) is that Proto-Erromangan, as described there, is a closed subgroup consisting only of the Erromangan languages. This was justified briefly in Lynch (1978a), and needs little further comment here: the closest relatives of the Erromangan languages are in Tanna and Aneityum, but the Erromangan languages themselves share many phonological developments, grammatical morphemes and lexical items exclusive of the Tanna languages and Anejom.

The procedure in the following sections has been to reconstruct Proto-Erromangan phonology, grammar, and lexicon almost exclusively on the basis of comparisons between Sie and Ura. Utaha data have been used, where available, in support of the various reconstructions, but because of the limited data available, Utaha has generally not been considered diagnostic for any but a few lexical reconstructions. Sorung data have been ignored.

1. PHONOLOGY

The reconstructed phoneme system of Proto-Erromangan is given below in (3); symbols in parentheses are proto-phonemes for which the evidence is not particularly strong.

(3)	Voiceless stops	*pw	*p	*t	*k
	Voiced prenasalised stops		*b	*d	*g
	Voiceless fricatives		(*f)	*s	*h
	Voiced fricatives		*v	(*z)	*ʒ
	Nasals	*mw	*m	*n	*ŋ
	Liquids			*l, *r, *L	
	Semivowels	*w		*y	
	Vowels		*i, *e, *a, *o, *u		

The consonant system reconstructed is similar in most respects to the systems of Sie and, especially, Ura. The major differences involve the reconstruction of *z and the third liquid *L. The latter particularly, however, is well attested, as the discussion below will show.

These reconstructed proto-phonemes rest on the sound correspondences listed in Table 1 and discussed in detail in the rest of this section. All Utaha (UTH) correspondences should be considered tentative at this stage. Conditioned variants are given in square brackets; tentative reflexes are in parentheses.

TABLE 1: Erromangan sound correspondences

PER	*pw	*p	*b	*t	*d	*k
SIE	pw-, -mpw-	p	p-; -mp-	t	t	k
URA	b; (mp)	p; [h]	b	t-, -r-, -t; [h]	d-, -t-	k
UTH	-	p	(p-, -mp-)	t	(t)	k

PER	*g	*f	*v	*s	*z	*h	g
SIE	k-, -ŋk-	f	v	s ~ h	s	∅; (h)	g
URA	g	f	v	s	∅-, -∅- ~ -y-	h	g-, -g-, -∅
UTH	k; (g)	(f)	v	s	-	(h)	(k)

PER	*mw	*m	*n	*ŋ	*l	*r	*L	*w	*y
SIE	mw; (m)	m	n	ŋ	d-, -l-, -l	r	r	w	y
URA	mw; (m)	m	n	ŋ	l	r	l	w	y
UTH	-	m	n	ŋ	(-l-)	r	(l-, -r-, -l)	(w)	y

PER	*i	*e	*a	*o	*u
SIE	i; [e]	e; [o]	a; [o, e]	o	u
URA	i	e	a; [e, i]	o; (ə)	u; [e]
UTH	-	-	-	-	-

1.1. Consonants

The reconstructed Proto-Erromangan consonants and the consonant correspondences given in Table 1 are exemplified in this section.

PER *pw > SIE pw-, -mpw-; URA b, (mp); UTH No data

Initial: SIE pwarap, URA baluwalip *evening*; SIE pwagah, URA bolagis *midday*.
 Medial: SIE ompwelvi, URA ɔbelefi *whale*; SIE naupwan, URA nalampon *net*;
 SIE nompwau, URA nobuau *cloud*.

PER *p > SIE, URA, UTH p

Initial: SIE, URA popowo, UTH popowo/se *because*.
 Medial: SIE torpis, URA dorpis *lightning*; SIE, URA empgo to *dance*; SIE ehapi, URA ispi *count*.
 Final: SIE etehap, URA arap *sit*; SIE atŋap, URA arŋap to *taste*; SIE pogop, URA bogup, UTH un/pokup *sky*.
 Conditioned variant: PER *p is reflected as URA h when immediately followed by m: SIE, UTH tapmi, URA dahmi *try, test*; SIE nipmi, URA nihimi *his eye*; URA duhmus, UTH tupmis *garden*. Note also SIE nompu-netru-, URA nohumunetre/n *knee*.

PER *b > SIE p-, -mp-; URA b; (UTH p-, -mp- ?)

Initial: SIE patmonu, URA barmonuk *heart*; SIE pentop, URA bentop *ashes*; SIE potni, URA bohni *stump*; SIE pogop, URA bogup, UTH un/pokup *sky*.

Medial: SIE empen, URA ibin *to smell* (intrans); SIE empasewoŋi *to order*; URA nebasewoŋi *an order*; SIE ompi, URA obu, UTH ompu *do, make*; SIE yomput, URA yobut *navel*; SIE nempou, URA ubeu *shark*.

Conditioned variant: It is possible that the Sie reflex of PER *b is p when immediately preceded by a consonant: cf. SIE potpot, URA burubut *near, close, approach*.

PER *t > SIE t; URA t-, -r-, -t; UTH t

Initial: SIE, URA, UTH taru *think wish*; SIE, URA tamsi *answer*; SIE, URA tompor *holy, sacred*.

Medial: SIE etehēp, URA arap *sit*; SIE atŋap, URA arŋap *to taste*; SIE etvani, URA arvani *to spit*; SIE patmonu, URA barmonuk *heart*; SIE neteme, URA erema *man*.

Final: SIE sat, URA at, UTH rat *bad*; SIE avgat, URA avogat *to fight*; SIE, URA isut *far*.

Conditioned variant: PER *t is reflected as URA h when immediately before l or n; in most cases, the vowel preceding this h is then copied as an echo-vowel immediately following the h (i.e. *V_itl becomes V_ihV_il): URA ahaninu, UTH etninu, [SIE ninu] *yesterday*; SIE etri, URA ahali *stab, sew*; SIE potni, URA bohni *stump*; SIE nitni, URA nehni *his son*; SIE nowatni-, URA nowahani/n *root*; SIE temah, URA ohomus *be hungry*.

PER *d > SIE t; URA d-, -t-; (UTH t)

Initial: SIE tal, URA dal *taro*; SIE ta-, URA da/n *back, skin*; SIE telŋo-, URA delŋe/n *ear*; SIE, UTH tapmi, URA dahmi *test, tempt*; SIE torpis, URA dorpis *lightning*.

Medial: SIE tavitavi, URA davitavi *feel*; SIE ametet, URA emetet *be afraid*; SIE, URA ituŋa *foreign*; SIE, URA netevote *goods, possessions*; SIE, URA netukus *salt*; SIE, URA umitar *rainbow*.

PER *k > SIE, URA, UTH k (sporadic Ø)

Initial: SIE, URA, UTH k- 2SG verbal prefix; SIE, URA kak- 1EXC:PL verbal prefix; SIE, URA ku *or, question-tag*; SIE kou, URA, UTH ko *but*.

Medial: SIE oŋko, URA aŋka *straight*; SIE soki, URA eki *climb*; SIE ulakis, URA lakih *rat*; SIE, URA netukus *salt*; SIE, URA ovki-sep *put down*; SIE urekis, URA urkris *small*; SIE mehkai, URA misikai, [UTH misegai] *six*.

Final (?): SIE arki, URA arek *break*; SIE umkeya *worm*, URA umek *snake*.

Note the following cases of sporadic Ø. Initial: SIE eni, URA keni *eat*.

Medial: SIE noki, URA nei *coconut*; SIE omonki, URA amwni *drink*;

SIE, UTH sukrim, URA suorem *five* Final: SIE patmonu, URA barmonuk *heart*; SIE kik, URA ga, UTH ko *you sg*.

PER *g > SIE k-, -ŋk-; URA g; UTH k, (g)

Initial: SIE koh, URA, UTH gis *we incl.*; SIE kam, URA gim, UTH kum *we excl.*; SIE, UTH kimi, URA gimi *you pl.*; SIE kik, URA ga, UTH ko *yau sg.*; URA gelu, UTH kalu *two*; URA gehli, UTH kihili *three*.

Medial: SIE -ŋkoh, URA, UTH -gis *us incl. obj.*; SIE -ŋkam, URA -gim, UTH -kum *us excl. obj.*; SIE -ŋkumi, URA -gimi, UTH -kimi *you pl. obj.*

PER *f > SIE, URA f, (UTH f)

Medial: SIE arufo, URA arufa *sing*; SIE efielentoŋi, URA efieleniŋi *forgive*; SIE nafini-, URA nafuni/n *forehead*.

Note, however, the following irregular correspondences: SIE tafonŋi, URA davanŋi (or tavanŋi) *throw*; SIE ompwelvi, URA ɔbelefi *whale*; SIE fan, URA nivan *flesh*.

PER *v > SIE, URA, UTH v-, -v-

Initial: SIE, URA vau *new*; SIE vetmis or vetmih, URA vetmis *sky*; SIE vin-, URA vin *man's sister*; SIE vai-onŋi, URA vai-iŋi *clothe*.

Medial: SIE orvi, URA alvi *cut*; SIE etvani, URA arvani *spit*; SIE avgat, URA avogat *fight*; SIE movog *outrigger boom*, URA mova *outrigger float*; SIE nvaŋ, URA neveŋ, UTH neveŋ *food*; SIE ovoŋi, URA ovohŋi, UTH oviŋi *give*.

Tendency > -p; note: SIE n-emev/iag, URA nimep *a dream*.

Tendency > URA h before n: SIE uvnomu, URA uhunomu/n *finger nail*.

PER *s > SIE s ~ h, URA s, UTH s

Initial: SIE hoŋkuse, URA soku *like, as*; SIE, URA sari *attach oneself to*; SIE, URA soŋu *to kiss*; SIE sikat, URA suat *many*; SIE ohovo, ehevo, URA suva *white*; SIE hai, URA sai, UTH sogoi *one*.

Medial: SIE ahuwo, URA asua *to paddle*; SIE ehapi, URA ispi *count*; SIE, URA isut *far*; SIE, URA mosi *star*; SIE, URA ovosi *blow*.

Final: SIE, URA avos *rejoice*; SIE tamah, URA dahamas *many*; SIE torpis, URA dorpis *lightning*; SIE meveh, URA meves *right (hand)*; SIE, URA netukus *salt*.

PER *z > SIE s; URA ɔ-, -ɔ- ~ -y-

Initial: SIE sat, URA at *bad, sin*; SIE sau, URA n/au *spear*; SIE semplauon, URA n/amlauan *garment*; SIE semsempari, URA abare *protect*; SIE soki, URA eki *climb*.

Medial: SIE -su, URA -ye plural, perfective; SIE tasiase, URA daiyaiye *peace*; SIE orgaisag, URA algayek *to float*.

PER *h > SIE ɔ (sporadic h); URA h; (UTH h)

Initial: SIE oroŋ, URA, UTH horoŋ *strong, power(ful)*.

Medial: SIE alei, URA ahalei *lie down*; SIE taloŋi, URA dahalini *kill*; SIE penuri, URA behnuri *after*; SIE aveni, URA iviehinie *finish(ed)*; SIE omwol, URA ohomol *fall*; SIE ovoli, URA ampohol (or avohol?) *turn*.

Cases of sporadic h in SIE: SIE, URA neherop *ripe coconut*; SIE d/ehel, URA g/ehli, UTH k/ihili *three*.

PER *g > SIE g; URA g-, -g-, -ɔ; (UTH k?)

Initial: SIE, URA g- 3SG preverbal prefix

Medial: SIE agayonŋi, URA agaiŋi *want*; SIE agum-su, URA agum *black*; SIE, URA aragai *angry*; SIE pogop, URA bogup, UTH unpokup *sky*.

Final: SIE tog, URA de *sea*; SIE movog, URA mova *outrigger*; SIE natemonog, URA yarumne, UTH yatumu *chief*.

Irregular (?) final URA reflexes: SIE uyomug, URA yomog *mosquito*; SIE orgaisag, URA algayek *to float*; SIE menuŋ, URA menuku *bird*. Note also SIE -g, URA -ka, UTH -ko *you sg. obj*.

PER *mw > SIE mw (sporadic m); URA mw (sporadic m)

Initial: SIE mwor, URA mor *left (hand)*.
 Medial: SIE omwol, URA ohomol *fall*; SIE omonki, URA amwni *drink*; SIE nompgahi, URA mwagas (also nimgas) *pig*

PER *m > SIE, URA UTH m

Initial: SIE, URA, UTH mori previous reference; SIE, URA marima *now*; SIE meveh, URA meves *right (hand)*; SIE menug, URA menuku *bird*; SIE mah, URA mis *die*.
 Medial: SIE, URA armai, UTH aramai *good*; SIE, UTH tapmi, URA dahmi *test, tempt*; SIE, URA nomu, UTH umu *fish*; SIE domo, URA lama *hard, strong*; SIE nimo, URA nima *house*.
 Final: SIE kam, URA gam, UTH kum *we excl.*; SIE, UTH sukrim, URA suorem *five*; SIE agum-su, URA agum *black*; SIE, URA mampum *in front, before*.

PER *n > SIE, URA, UTH n

Initial: SIE nvaŋ, URA neveŋ, UTH nevoŋ *food*; SIE nimo, URA nima *house*; SIE nei, URA nii *tree*; SIE nvat, URA nivat *stone*.
 Medial: SIE ninu, URA ahaninu, UTH etninu *yesterday*; SIE potni, URA bohni *stump*; SIE etvani, URA arvani *spit*; SIE menug, URA menuku *bird*; SIE uvnomu, URA uhunomu/n *finger nail*.
 Final: SIE empen, URA ibin *to smell (intr.)*; SIE, URA narvin *sand*; SIE nelman, URA neliman *outrigger*; SIE dan, URA, UTH nelin *day, time*.

PER *ŋ > SIE, URA, UTH ŋ

Initial: SIE, URA ŋi instrumental preposition.
 Medial: SIE oŋko, URA aŋka *straight*; SIE atŋap, URA arŋap *to taste*; SIE telŋo-, URA delŋe/n *ear*; SIE orŋi, URA elŋi *hear*; SIE, URA ituŋa *foreign*; SIE n/iŋoi, URA g/iŋei, UTH n/oŋo *when*.
 Final: SIE oroŋ, URA, UTH horoŋ *strong, power(ful)*; SIE nvaŋ, URA neveŋ, UTH nevoŋ *food*; SIE ulaŋ, URA uleŋ *a fly*.

PER *l > SIE d-, -l-, -l; URA l; (UTH -l-)

Initial: SIE domo, URA lama *strong, hard*; SIE doŋoroŋo-, URA leŋeleŋi/n *finger*; SIE dan, URA nelin *day, time*; SIE du, URA li comitative preposition.
 Medial: SIE alei, URA ahalei *lie down*; SIE elua, URA alua *vomit*; SIE tali, URA dayali *shadow*; SIE telŋo-, URA delŋe/n *ear*; SIE ompwelvi, URA ɔbelefi *whale*; SIE, URA nalau *boy, child*; SIE novlaivi-, URA navlaivi/n *tail*; SIE, URA nilaswi, UTH nilasuwi *brightness*.
 Final: SIE tal, URA dal *taro*; SIE, URA nuval *fat (n)*; SIE omwol, URA ohomol *fall*; SIE, URA dal comitative preposition. And note also SIE d/ehel, URA g/ehli, UTH k/ihili *three*.
 Possible exceptions: SIE, URA lat *fat (n)*; SIE lou, URA nelo *kingdom*; SIE ulakis, URA lakih *rat*.

PER *r > SIE, URA, UTH r

Initial: SIE, URA, UTH ra locative/causative preposition.
 Medial: SIE, URA aragai *angry*; SIE arki, URA arek *break*; SIE, URA armai, UTH aramai *good*; SIE arufo, URA arufa *sing*; SIE penuri, URA behnuri *after*; SIE torpis, URA dorpis *lightning*; SIE oroŋ, URA, UTH horoŋ *strong, power(ful)*; SIE, URA narvin *sand*.
 Final: SIE ur, URA avowat-ur *bad*; SIE mwor, URA mor *left (hand)*; SIE, URA tompor *holy, sacred*; SIE, URA umitar *rainbow*.

PER *L > SIE r; URA l; (UTH l-, -r-, -l?)

Initial: SIE r-, URA, UTH l- personal plural marker.

Medial: SIE etri, URA ahali *stab, sew*; SIE orgaisag, URA algayek *to float*; SIE orvi, URA alvi *cut*; SIE orei, URA elei *scratch*; SIE orqi, URA elgi *hear*; SIE novli-, URA noviri *a sore*; SIE ovroqi, URA ovleheqi *to call*; SIE d/uru, URA g/elu, UTH k/alu *two*.

Final: SIE nmar, URA nimal *breadfruit*; SIE iror, URA leil, [UTH yoril] *they*; SIE -or, URA -l, -il, UTH -kor *them* obj.

PER *w > SIE w; URA w; (UTH w); (sporadic u)

Initial: SIE, URA wor- instrumental nominaliser; SIE, URA wi intensive enclitic.

Medial: SIE iyuw, URA yuw *there* (mid); SIE n-empasewoqi, URA nebasewoqi *an order*; SIE, URA nilaswi, UTH nilasuwi *brightness*; SIE nowatni-, URA nowahani/n *root*; SIE, URA popowo, UTH popowose *because*.

Note also: SIE ahuw, URA asua *to paddle*; SIE awau, URA auau *hot*; SIE nompwo, URA nompua *mountain*; SIE wiou, URA uyo *grandmother*; SIE tawi, URA davaui, UTH tavewe *not, no*.

PER *y > SIE, URA, UTH y (sporadic i)

Initial: SIE yaŋa, URA yaŋa *elbow*; SIE, URA yeŋi *pull*; SIE yomput, URA yobut *navel*; SIE, URA yau, UTH yo *I*.

Medial: SIE eyi, ei, URA eyi *no*; SIE vol/yaŋ, URA mel/yeŋ, un/iaŋ *yellow*; SIE, URA -yau, UTH -yo *me* obj.

Note also: SIE iyuw, URA yuw *there* (mid); SIE uyomug, URA yomog *mosquito*; SIE ire, URA yera, UTH yore *today*; SIE agayonqi, URA agaiŋi *want*; SIE wiou, URA uyo *grandmother*; SIE eyep, URA ip *go down*.

Of the proto-consonants reconstructed above, a number require no further discussion; these include *p, *b, *t, *d, *k, *v, *s, *m, *n, *ŋ, *l, *r, *L, *w, and *y. Two other proto-consonants, *pw and *mw, are postulated on the basis of only a few correspondence sets, but seem required by the fact that Sie and Ura – as indeed all other languages of Southern Vanuatu – show a phonemic distinction between simple and velarised stops and nasals. Four of the reconstructed consonants, however, require a brief note here:

- (a) *g occurs in correspondence sets which are almost exclusively restricted to pronominal forms. It has been retained as a proto-phoneme largely on the basis of the reconstructible contrast between simple and prenasalised stops in other positions.
- (b) *f is rare, and in addition there are some contradictory cases (e.g. where Sie has f corresponding to Ura v, or vice versa). My suspicion is that in Proto-Eromangan, and probably Proto-Southern Vanuatu, a voiceless labial fricative may have been an allophone of some other phoneme (*p or *v) but may have been developing phonemic status at the time the languages split. We should treat *f as a doubtful phoneme for the present.
- (c) *z is also not conclusive, although the correspondence sets seem more secure than for *f. The problem here is that there is no voicing contrast between alveolar fricatives in any of the modern Eromangan languages; that is, we are attributing to the proto-language a contrast which does not occur in any daughter-languages. The evidence for *z, however, seems reasonably adequate.
- (d) The evidence for *g in non-final position seems quite secure, but in final position there is considerable variation.

1.2. Vowels

Table 1 shows that a five-vowel system has been reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan. Before discussing the reflexes of these vowels, however, there are a number of features of the vowel system in general which require consideration.

First, vowels in the Southern Vanuatu languages generally are unstable. It has been shown (Lynch 1978a) that final ancestral vowels were generally lost, and unstressed vowels in non-final position were also often subject to loss. We have also seen in earlier chapters in this volume (i) the insertion of epenthetic vowels, for example /o/ adjacent to velars and /e/ elsewhere in certain environments in Sie, and (ii) the fact that some linguists have recorded the presence of vowels in certain words while others have not. Thus vowel loss and vowel epenthesis should be kept in mind as both the vowel correspondences themselves, and the reconstruction of individual vowels in particular grammatical or lexical items, are discussed.

Second, most Erromangan morphemes show an historical accretion. Many nouns begin with a reflex of the Proto-Oceanic article *na, and others show what appears to have been initial *ya (or *ia) or initial *u; but in many cases the vowel of these prefixes appear to have undergone change, frequently in ways which I am not able to adequately explain. Similarly, most verbs have accreted an initial a, which was once probably a verb-marker; this too has undergone change in various environments in the Erromangan languages.

With these factors in mind, we turn now to an examination of the reflexes of the Proto-Erromangan vowels. In each case, the conditioned reflexes will be given first, with the 'elsewhere' reflexes at the end. Utaha data are insufficient to be properly considered here.

PER *i

- *i > SIE e, URA i before labial obstruent: SIE asevioŋi, URA asivieŋi *waste, scatter*; SIE empen, URA ibin to *smell* (intr.); SIE eyep, URA ip *go down*; SIE evivat, URA n/ivivat *thick*; SIE d/eve, URA g/live *how much*.
- *i > SIE, URA i elsewhere: SIE ninu, URA ahaninu *yesterday*; SIE, URA armai *good*; SIE penuri, URA behnuri *after*; SIE torpis, URA dorpis *lightning*; SIE ulakis, URA lakih *rat*; SIE, URA narvin *sand*; SIE kimi, URA gimi *you pl.*; SIE, URA ŋi instrumental preposition; SIE, URA im *and*.

PER *e

- *e > SIE o, URA e adjacent to ŋ, before g: SIE telŋo-, URA delŋe/n *ear*; SIE doŋoroŋo-, URA leŋeleŋi/n *finger*; SIE niŋoi, URA giŋei *when?*; SIE ovroŋi, URA ovleheŋi *call*; SIE toŋ, URA de *sea*; SIE ogep, URA erekep *to fly*; SIE natemonog, URA yatumne *chief*. This correspondence also occasionally occurs before k: SIE soki, URA eki *climb*; SIE noki, URA nei *coconut*.
- *e > SIE, URA e elsewhere: SIE pentop, URA bentop *ashes*; SIE, URA empgo *to dance*; SIE, URA eyi *no, not*; SIE nelve-, URA nelve/n *tooth*; SIE meveh, URA meves *right (hand)*; SIE, URA yevi *pull*; SIE, URA eni *eat*.

PER *a

- *a > SIE a, URA e before word-final ŋ: SIE vol/yaŋ, URA mel/yeŋ *yellow*; SIE nvaŋ, URA neveŋ *food*; SIE ulaŋ, URA uleŋ *a fly*.

- *a > SIE a, URA i before final consonant followed historically by a POC high front vowel: SIE pwarap, URA baluwalip *evening* (cf. POC *Rapi); SIE dan, URA nelin *day, time* (cf. POC *(dr)ani); SIE kam, URA gim *we excl.* (cf. POC *kami). The environment may extend to a following mid front vowel: SIE mah, URA mis *die*, and SIE natmas, URA yarmis *spirit* (cf. POC *mate).
- *a > SIE o, URA a finally, especially after labial consonant or back vowel: SIE domo, URA lama *hard, strong*; SIE onko, URA anka *straight*; SIE nimo, URA nima *house*; SIE ohovo, ehevo, URA suva *white*; SIE arufo, URA arufa *sing*; SIE ahuvo, URA asua *to paddle*; SIE netuo, URA urua *fowl*.
- Verb-initial *a > SIE e, URA a before alveolars (?): SIE etri, URA ahali *stab, sew*; SIE elua, URA alua *vomit*; SIE etehap, URA arap *sit*; SIE etvani, URA arvani *spit*.
- *a > SIE, URA a elsewhere: SIE agum-su, URA agum *black*; SIE, URA ai *blunt*; SIE am, URA am-li *speak*; SIE, URA aragai *angry*; SIE, URA armai *good*; SIE sat, URA at *bad*; SIE ahor, URA asor *call out*; SIE tamah, URA dahamas *big, many*.

PER *o

- *o > SIE, URA o: SIE ahor, URA asor *call out*; SIE oron, URA horon *big, power(ful)*; SIE, URA momu *more*; SIE nogolista-, URA nogolesida/n *skin*; SIE, URA nomu *fish*; SIE omwol, URA ohomol *fall*; SIE ogbi, URA ogbi *see*; SIE ovoŋi, URA ovohŋi *give*; SIE yomput, URA yobut *navel*; SIE, URA ovn- plural.

Note also: URA ɔ corresponds with SIE o in the only two cognates containing ɔ: SIE ompwelvi, URA ɔbelefi *whale*; SIE novonon, URA nɔvɔn *flower*.

PER *u

- *u > SIE, URA u: SIE agum-su, URA agum *black*; SIE, URA netukus *salt*; SIE, URA urva *river*; SIE ulaŋ, URA ulen *a fly*; SIE, URA nup *yam*; SIE, URA ituŋa *foreign*; SIE ninu, URA ahaninu *yesterday*; SIE, URA momu *more*; SIE, URA nomu *fish*; SIE uvovu, URA ovovu *play*; SIE, URA soŋu *to kiss*.

Note: Despite a number of comparisons like the last five in absolute final position, there appears to be a tendency for *u to become URA e finally in contexts as yet not describable; e.g.: SIE oruh, URA ale *swim, bathe*; SIE nu, URA ne *water*; SIE -su, URA -ye plural perfective; SIE nompū-netru-, URA nohumu-netre/n *knee*.

There are numerous less frequent correspondence sets involving vowels. In many cases, some kind of conditioning can be tentatively established, but — as with the case of final *u immediately above — there is contradictory evidence. It is probable that, as the reconstruction of Proto-Southern Vanuatu proceeds, at least some of these correspondence sets may be explained.

2. RECONSTRUCTION PROCEDURES

Generally, I have reconstructed a form for Proto-Erromangan if cognates occur in Sie and Ura; in a few lexical items, however, forms have been reconstructed on the basis of cognates in Sie and Utaha. However, especially in the grammar section, Utaha data has not normally been considered as diagnostic of any reconstruction, since we have so little information available on that language. Further, since Ura and Utaha probably subgroup together, no Proto-Erromangan reconstruction can be made on evidence from Ura and Utaha only.

Reconstructions are given in the Proto-Erromangan orthography given in the preceding section. In the alphabetical lexical lists in section 4, *g follows *q, *l follows *l, *mw follows *m, *ŋ follows *n, and *pw follows *p.

In addition, the following conventions will be followed:

- (a) A single phoneme in parentheses indicates that there is evidence supporting reconstructions with and without that phoneme; thus *ak(a) would indicate that both *ak and *aka are supported.
- (b) Two phonemes in parentheses indicate that reconstructions with either are supported; thus *ak(ai) would indicate that both *aka and *aki are supported.
- (c) A single phoneme in square brackets indicates that that phoneme may have occurred in an earlier stage, but does not occur in any modern forms. This convention is used particularly with reference to the fronting and raising of *a when the next syllable contained *i. Thus the *[i] in PER *gam[i] *we* exclusive is reconstructed to explain the raising of *a in the Ura reflex: the forms are SIE kam, URA gim.
- (d) Two or more phonemes in square brackets indicate that there is support for forms both including and excluding the material so enclosed; thus *[an]aka implies support for both *aka and *anaka. Sequences of phonemes separated by a comma and enclosed in square brackets indicate that there is support for the forms on either side of the comma: thus *[wi,uy]a implies support for both *wia and *uya. Empty square brackets are used to indicate that additional material may have been present in the proto-form, but the exact nature of that material cannot be reconstructed.
- (e) Because of the fusion of an initial article to nouns and an initial prefix to verbs, many nouns and verbs are reconstructed as being bimorphemic. Nouns will generally be reconstructed with a prefix *na-, though in many cases the vowel will differ, and in some cases *n- or *nV- (with indeterminate vowel) will be reconstructed; some nouns are reconstructed with a prefix *u-. Similarly, many verbs will be reconstructed with a prefix *a-, but again in many cases the vowel so reconstructed will either be some other vowel or an indeterminate *V-.

3. GRAMMAR

In this section I attempt to reconstruct both grammatical structures and grammatical morphemes in Proto-Erromangan. Given the paucity of data from languages other than Sie, there will naturally be a number of gaps in the reconstructions; but nevertheless the task is not entirely fruitless, and indeed many of these gaps may be filled when the reconstruction of Proto-Southern Vanuatu is undertaken. The reconstruction of the form of grammatical morphemes follows the procedures outlined in section 2 above.

3.1. Sentence

A number of statements about Proto-Erromangan sentence structure and sentence-level morphology can be made:

- (1) PER had the order Topic + Comment in verbless sentences.

- (2) PER had the order (Temporal) + Subject + Verb + (Object) + (Peripheral phrases) in verbal sentences; the Temporal phrase could occur initially or after the object.
- (3) Questions were marked either by interrogative words, or by a question-tag *ku (SIE, URA ku). Only two interrogative words can be reconstructed:
- *-iŋei *when?* < SIE n/iŋoi, URA g/iŋei, UTH nuŋo.
 *-ive *how much?, how many?* < SIE d/eve, URA g/ive.³
- (4) The following coordinating conjunctions can be reconstructed for PER:
- *m, *im *and* < SIE m, im, URA m, im, mo, UTH im.
 *ku *or*, identical to question-tag above.
 *ko(u) *but* < SIE kou, URA, UTH ko.
- (5) The following subordinators may be reconstructed:
- *mori *relative pronoun* < SIE, URA, UTH mori (cf. (23) below).
 *behnuri *after* < SIE penuri, URA behnuri.
 *popowo *because* < SIE, URA popowo, UTH popowo/se.
 *m(ao) so(ŋ)ku *purpose* < SIE ma soŋku, URA mo soku (cf. (35) below).
 *o-g(ou) *quotative verb* < SIE ogu, URA ogo.
 *naŋk(ou) *conditional* < SIE naŋku, URA naŋko.⁴

3.2. Verb phrase and verb morphology

The Proto-Erromangan verb phrase consisted of a verb, which was occasionally followed by adverbial particles. The verb itself was morphologically complex, consisting of a series of prefixes and suffixes and a root which underwent oral/nasal alternation depending on the tense.

Oral/nasal alternation. Proto-Erromangan verbs underwent a change in the root when the tense was non-past. These changes in both Sie and Ura were discussed in some detail in earlier chapters of this volume. The changes appear to derive from the prefixing of initial *n- to the root to mark non-past; other concomitant changes, however, also took place, as follows:

- (6) Some initial consonants combined with this prefixed *n- to produce a nasalised consonant. In the non-past, root-initial *v > *b, *t > *d, *k > *g, *g > *ŋ / ____ *s, and *g > *g elsewhere.⁵
- (7) It seems clear that a PER 'verb-marker', probably *a, needs to be reconstructed. This is done largely on the basis of comparative evidence: a large number of reconstructed POC verbs appear in PER (and all other Southern Vanuatu languages) with an initial vowel. It is clear that the process of nasalisation also caused some qualitative changes in this vowel; however, the nature of these and other changes in the 'verb-marker' must wait for more comparative work in other branches of the family.

Verb structure. The Proto-Erromangan verb consisted of a verb root with a number of affixes, some obligatory, the others optional. A verb in an indicative clause probably had the following structure:

- (8) Subject - Tense/Aspect - (Number) - (Negative) - ROOT - (Transitive/Object) - (Other Suffixes)

Number prefixes have been identified for Sie only; however, cognate forms of one of the Sie number prefixes can be found on what were identified as subject

markers in Ura: these probably consist of subject-marker + number-marker. We now turn to the reconstruction of the affixes.

Subject-markers. It is clear that Proto-Erromangan possessed two sets of subject-markers, one used with one set of tense/aspects and the other with another set. Because of the quality of the data, however, we cannot fully reconstruct both sets, although we can, on the basis of Sie evidence, decide to which set each reconstructed form belongs. The reconstructed subject-markers are given below:

(9)	Set A	Set B	
1 sg.	*yag-	*yau-	< SIE, URA yag-, yau-
2 sg.	*k-		< SIE, URA, UTH k-
3 sg.	*g-	*y-	< SIE, URA g-, y-
1 inc.pl.		*k(ou)-	< SIE ko-; URA, UTH ku/l-
1 exc.pl.	*kak-		< SIE, URA kak-
2 pl.		*ki-	< SIE, UTH ki-; URA ki/l-
3 pl.	(No reconstruction)		

In addition, the echo-subject prefix *m-, which takes the place of the subject-marker in a switch-reference type context, can be reconstructed on the basis of SIE, URA, UTH m-.

Tense/aspect-markers. The following tense/aspect system can be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan:

(10)	General Past:	Ø (SIE, URA Ø)
	Mid Past:	*m- (SIE, URA m-)
	Far Past:	*m-em- (SIE m-em-; URA m-em-, m-om-)
	Present:	*am (SIE, URA am-)
	Future:	Ø (SIE, URA Ø)
	Conditional:	*pe- (SIE pe-; URA p-)

Other prefixes. Singular number was unmarked in PER. It seems possible to reconstruct a plural prefix, although the complex situation referred to in section 2.1.2. of chapter 2 regarding the number-prefixes in Sie is not matched, in the limited data available, by a similar situation in Ura. Thus:

- (11) *l- plural prefix < SIE l-; URA ku/l- 1 inc.pl., ki/l- 2 pl., i/l- 3 pl.

In addition, a negative prefix can also be reconstructed:

- (12) *edu- negative < SIE, URA, UTH etu-

Transitive suffixes. Two transitive suffixes can be reconstructed, although the semantic difference between them has probably been lost in all the daughter-languages:

- (13) *-i transitive < SIE, URA -i
*-ŋi transitive < SIE, URA -ŋi

Object suffixes. The following set of object suffixes may be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan:

- (14) 1 sg. *-yau < SIE, URA -yau; UTH -yo
2 sg. *-g(a) < SIE -g; URA -ka; UTH -ko
3 sg. *-i, *-Ø < SIE, URA, UTH -i; SIE, URA Ø
1 inc.pl. *-(g)as[i] < SIE -goh; URA -gis; UTH -kis

- | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 exc.pl. | *-(gg)am[i] | < SIE -gam; URA -gim; UTH -kum |
| 2 pl. | *-(gg)(iu)mi | < SIE -gum; URA -imi; UTH -kimi |
| 3 pl. | *-(oi)L | < SIE -or; URA -l, -il; UTH -k/or |

Other suffixes. Only two other suffixes can be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan, although the presence of several others in Sie suggests that it is only the sparsity of data from Ura which prevents the reconstruction of additional suffixes:

- (15) *-zu perfective < SIE -su; URA -ye
 *-sep direction downwards < SIE, URA -sep

3.3. Noun phrase and nominal morphology

The Proto-Erromangan noun phrase consisted of a head (either a focal pronoun or a noun), optionally preceded by a small subset of deictics, and optionally followed by adjectives, numerals, possessives, and the remaining deictics.

Focal pronouns. The focal pronoun system distinguished only two numbers, singular and plural. The forms reconstructed are:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|----------|---------------------------------|
| (16) | 1 sg. | *yau | < SIE, URA yau; UTH yo |
| | 2 sg. | *g[] | < SIE kik; URA ga; UTH ko |
| | 3 sg. | *iyi | < SIE, URA, UTH iyi |
| | 1 inc.pl. | *gas[i] | < SIE koh; URA, UTH gis |
| | 1 exc.pl. | *gam[i] | < SIE kam; URA gim; UTH kum |
| | 2 pl. | *gimi | < SIE, UTH kimi; URA gim |
| | 3 pl. | *il(eo)L | < SIE iror; URA leil; UTH yoril |

Nominal affixes. Affixes relating to possessive morphology are dealt with in section 3.4. below. A number of other affixes to nouns, however, can be reconstructed:

- (17) *ovn- indefinite plural < SIE, URA ovn- (cf. (25) below)
 (18) *l- personal/kin plural < SIE r-...-me; URA, UTH l-
 (19) *-zu collective plural < SIE -su; URA -ye; UTH -yu
 (20) *n- general nominaliser < SIE, URA n-
 (21) *wor- instrumental nominaliser < SIE, URA wor-

Deictics. Only two deictics can be reconstructed:

- (22) *imo *this near speaker* < SIE, URA imo; UTH yamu
 (23) *mori *previous reference* < SIE, URA, UTH mori (cf. (5) above)

Numerals. Although the Ura numeral system has undergone a systemic change in fairly recent times, sufficient early data are available to allow us to reconstruct what is basically a quinary system, with a form for *ten* and another form for *six* which is unrelated to the form for *five* and only partly related to the form for *one*. The forms are given below in (24). It should be pointed out that certain of the numerals show a fused prefix which is d- or dV- in Sie, g- or gV- in Ura, and k- or kV- in Utaha. The Sie prefix would derive from *l- while the Ura and Utaha prefixes would derive from *g-. These numerals have thus been reconstructed with an initial hyphen, since the original form of the prefix cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan.

- (24)
- | | | |
|----|-----------------|--|
| 1 | *sa[ka]i | < SIE hai; URA sai; UTH sokoi |
| 2 | *-Lu | < SIE du/ru; URA ge/lu; UTH ka/lu |
| 3 | *-hel(i) | < SIE de/hel; URA ge/hli; UTH ki/hili |
| 4 | *-vat | < SIE d/vat; URA sini/vat <i>nine</i> ; UTH
simni/vat <i>nine</i> |
| 5 | *sukr(ei)m | < SIE, UTH sukrim; URA suorem |
| 6 | *m(ei)sikai | < SIE mehkai; URA misikai; UTH misegai |
| 10 | *na-Lu(o)(lr)em | < SIE narwolem; URA lurem; UTH narolem |

The numerals 7, 8, and 9 were formed by compounding: 5-2, 5-3, and 5-4.

Adjectives. Two aspects of the morphology of adjectives can be reconstructed:

- (25) *ovn- pluraliser < SIE, URA ovn- (cf. (17) above)
 (26) *(ai)t(u)- identificatory prefix < SIE it-; URA aru-

3.4. Possessive morphology

Proto-Erromangan showed a distinction between direct (or inalienable) and active (or alienable) possessive structures. Direct/inalienable possession was marked by suffixation of a possessive pronominal form to the noun; only the following suffixes can be reconstructed:

- (27)
- | | | |
|-----------|---------|--------------------------------|
| 1 sg. | *-ŋ | < SIE, UTH -ŋ; (URA -k?) |
| 2 sg. | *-m | < SIE, URA -m |
| 3 sg. | *-n | < SIE, URA, UTH -n |
| 1 exc.pl. | *-[]am | < SIE -mam; URA -kam; UTH -kum |

Active/alienable possession was marked by suffixing a different set of pronominal forms to a possessive morpheme. This possessive morpheme can not be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan. The suffixed forms are virtually identical to the focal pronouns:

- (28)
- | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| 1 sg. | *-yau | < SIE -iau; URA -yau; UTH -yo |
| 2 sg. | *-g[] | < SIE -ŋkik; URA -ka; UTH -ko |
| 3 sg. | *-(y)i | < SIE -i; URA, UTH -yi |
| 1 inc.pl. | *-gas[i] | < SIE -ŋkoh; URA, UTH -gis |
| 1 exc.pl. | *-gam[i] | < SIE -ŋkam; URA -gim; UTH -kum |
| 2 pl. | *-gimi | < SIE -ŋkumi; URA -gimi; UTH -kimi |
| 3 pl. | *-il(eo)L | < SIE -iror; URA -leil; UTH -yoril |

3.5. Prepositions

The following prepositions can be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan:

- (29) *ra locative/causative, with allomorph *(ia)ra- before pronominal forms, which occur as direct possessive suffixes < SIE ra ~rai, ira-; URA ra, ara-; UTH ra, (ira-?).
 (30) *bohŋi dative < SIE poŋ, poŋi; URA bohŋi; (UTH pi-?).
 (31) *ŋi instrumental < SIE, URA ŋi
 (32) *nisge- benefactive < SIE nisgo-; UTH nise- or nese-
 (33) *l(iu) comitative < SIE du; URA li

- (34) **[]al* comitative < SIE, URA *dal*
 (35) **so(ŋ)ku* similative < SIE *hoŋku/se*; URA *soku* (cf. (5) above)
 The following compounds should also be mentioned here:
 (36) **ra [na-]diŋe-* *under* < SIE *ra netŋo-*; URA *ra diŋe-*
 (37) **b(ou)tb(ou)t* *ra near* < SIE *potpot ra*; URA *burubut ra*
 (38) **isut ra far from* < SIE *isut ra*; URA *isut*

3.6. Other

A number of other reconstructions may be discussed most conveniently here. First, three intensive enclitics to both noun and verb phrases may be reconstructed for Proto-Erromangan:

- (39) **-wi* general intensive < SIE, URA *-wi*
 **-sat* pejorative intensive < SIE, URA *-sat*
 **-ves* meliorative intensive < SIE *-veh*; URA *-ves*

Second, two locative adverbs can be reconstructed:

- (40) **yuwi there (mid)* < SIE *i/yuwi*; URA *yuwi*
 *(*eo*)*mpe there (far)* < SIE *y/empe*; URA *ompe/yok*

Finally, a number of temporal adverbials are reconstructible for Proto-Erromangan:

- (41) **marima now* < SIE, URA *marima*
 *(*ai*)*d(ei)tuai long ago* < SIE *itetuai*; URA *atiruai*
 **i-era today* < SIE *ira*; URA *yera*; UTH *yore*
 *[*at*]*ninu yesterday* < SIE *ninu*; URA *ahaninu*, UTH *etninu*

This completes the grammatical reconstruction section of the paper. Presumably, once more detailed comparisons are made between the Erromangan languages and the languages of Tanna and Aneityum, further (top-down) reconstructions of Proto-Erromangan grammatical morphemes will be made.

4. LEXICON

Something over 200 Proto-Erromangan lexical items can be reconstructed on the basis of cognates in Sie, Ura, and Utaha. These items are given in an alphabetical listing below. In general, glosses are given for forms in the daughter-languages only where they differ from the gloss given for the proto-form. The following conventions are used:

- (a) Known or presumed morpheme-breaks are marked in PER forms by a hyphen. Similarly, nouns which are normally inalienably possessed are written with a final hyphen.
 (b) Verbs and adjectives which are vowel initial have this vowel separated from the stem by a hyphen, since the vowel derives from an historical verb-marker **a-*.
 (c) Transitive verbs ending in *-i* or *-ŋi* have this separated from the root by a hyphen, since it is a fused transitive suffix.

- (d) Nouns beginning with n + vowel are generally segmented after the vowel, since this is a reflex of an historical article *na. In some cases, particularly where there is evidence from Proto-Oceanic that the vowel was once part of the root, the segmentation is made after the n. An historical article *u- is also recognised.
- (e) Other conventions are as outlined in section 2 above.

Proto-Erromangan	Sie	Ura	Utaha
*a-gay-ŋi <i>want</i>	agayŋi	agaiŋi	
*a-gum <i>black</i>	agum/su	agum	
*a-hlei <i>lie down</i>	alei	ahalei	
*a-hlei-ba <i>sleep</i>	alei-po	ahalei-ba	
*a-i <i>blunt</i>	ai	ai	
*a-lam <i>old</i>	etet/alam	alam	
*a-lua <i>vomit</i>	elua	alua	
*a-Le-i <i>scratch</i>	orei	elei	
*a-Lgai-zag <i>to float</i>	orgai-sag	algayek	
*a-Lŋ-i <i>hear</i>	orŋi	elŋi	
*a-Lu(s) <i>wash, swim</i>	oruh	ale	
*a-Lv-i <i>cut</i>	orvi	alvi	
*a-m <i>speak</i>	am	am-li	
*a-medet <i>to fear</i>	ametet	emetet	
*a-m(ou)r(eo)p <i>to live, be alive</i>	amurep, omurep	omorop	
*a-mwon(k)-i <i>drink</i>	omonki	amwni	
*a-ŋka <i>straight</i>	oŋko	aŋka	
*a-ragai <i>angry</i>	aragai	aragai	
*a-[re]gep <i>to fly</i>	ogep	erekep	
*a-rek <i>break</i>	ark/i	arek	
*a-rmai <i>good</i>	armai	armai	aramai
*a-rufa <i>sing</i>	arufo	arufa	
*a[sa]w(io)- <i>husband</i>	ahawo-	awi/n	
*a-sivie-ŋi <i>to waste, scatter</i>	asevionŋi	asivienŋi	
*a-sor <i>call out</i>	ahor	asor	
*a-suva <i>white</i>	ohovo, ehevo	suva	
*a-su(w)a <i>to paddle</i>	ahuwo	asua	
*a-ta[se]p <i>sit</i>	etehep	arap	
*a-tek-i <i>make an effort</i>	atki/sa <i>try, strive</i>		n/ateki/moresah <i>effort</i>

Proto-Erromangan	Sie	Ura	Utaha
*a-t(eo)m(au)s <i>be hungry</i>	temah	ohomus	
*a-ti-botni <i>begin</i>	n-atipotni	aribohoni/n	
*a-tL-i <i>stab, sew</i>	etri	ahali	
*a-tɲap <i>taste</i>	atɲap	arɲap	
*a-tvani <i>spit</i>	etvani	arvani	
*a-(uw)au <i>warm, hot</i>	awau	auau	
*av-...sa[ka]i <i>brother</i> ⁶	av-...hai	av-...sai	av/en/sogoi
*a-vogat <i>to fight</i>	avgat	avogat	
*a-vohl-i <i>turn</i> ⁷	ovoli	ampohol	
*a-vos <i>rejoice</i>	avos	avos	
*a-yip <i>go down</i>	eyep	ip	
*batmonu(gk) <i>heart</i>	patmonu	barmonuk	
*bentop <i>ashes</i>	pentop	bentop	
*[]-b(eo)u <i>shark</i>	nempou	ubeu	
*bog(ou)p <i>sky</i>	pogop	bogup	un/pokup <i>in the sky</i>
*botni <i>stump</i>	potni	bohni	
*b(ou)tb(ou)t <i>near, short, approach</i>	potpot	burubut	
*da- <i>back</i>	ta-	da/n	
*da- <i>skin</i>	ta-	da/n	
*(dt)ahl-ɲi <i>kill</i>	taloɲi	dahalini	
*dahmas <i>big, many</i>	tamah	dahamas	
*dal <i>taro</i>	tal	dal	
*dapmi <i>try, test, tempt(ation)</i>	tapmi	dahmi	tapmi
*(dt)ava-ɲi <i>throw</i>	tafoɲi	davaɲi	
*da[va](uw)i <i>no, not</i>	tawi	davau, davau	tavewe
*davidavi <i>feel, grope</i>	tavtavi <i>grobe</i>	davitavi <i>feel</i>	
*da[ya]li <i>shadow</i>	tali	dayali	
*daziazye <i>peace</i>	tasiasye	daiyaiye	
*deg <i>sea</i>	tog	de	
*delɲe- <i>ear</i>	telɲo-	delɲe/n	
*domp[ur]wai <i>bush</i>	tompoi	dompurwai	
*(dt)or-[i,ɲi] <i>lead</i>	tori		toreɲi
*-dor(ou)ɲ[] <i>serve</i>	toruɲat <i>servant</i>	etoroɲ	

Proto-Erromangan	Sie	Ura	Utaha
*dorpis <i>lightning</i>	torpis	dorpis	
*e-basewo-ŋi <i>order</i>	empasewoŋi	n-ebasewoŋi	
*e-da <i>be, dwell</i>	te, ete	eda	
*e-(dt)ur <i>stand, stay</i>	etur <i>stand</i>		etur/a <i>be, stay</i>
*efi-e-len(t)-ŋi ⁹ <i>forgive</i>	efielentoŋi	(efi)eleniŋi	efieliniŋi
*e-l(ae)mpa <i>be awake, to awaken</i>	elampe <i>awake</i>	elepa <i>to wake up (intr.)</i>	
*e-mpgo <i>dance</i>	empgo	empgo	
*e-tevap-[i,ŋi] <i>to divide</i>	tevapeŋi	erevavui	
*e-tim- <i>father</i>	etm-	rimi/n	time/n
*e-vip <i>to rain</i>	evip	n-evip	
*eyi <i>no</i>	eyi, ei	eyi	
*[]gan <i>only</i>	wo/gon	gan	
*horon <i>big, power(ful)</i>	oron	horon (also <i>strong</i>)	horon <i>power</i>
*ibin <i>smell (intr.)</i>	empen	ibin	
*idaïs <i>moon</i> ¹⁰	itaïs ~ itaih	itaïs	(iriis?)
*iduŋa <i>foreign</i>	ituŋa	ituŋa	
*ilaswi <i>bright</i> ¹¹	ilaswi	n-ilaswi <i>glory brightness</i>	n-ilasuwi <i>glory</i>
*i-mep[] <i>to dream</i>	emep/iag	n-imep	
*[]in(m)- <i>mother</i>	dinm-	ehine/n	
*isut <i>far away</i>	isut	isut	
*itaïs <i>grandfather</i> ¹⁰	itaïs ~ itaih	iraïs	
*i(k)en-i <i>eat</i>	eni	eni, keni	
*lama <i>hard, strong, tight</i>	domo	lama	
*lat <i>fat (n)</i>	lat	lat	
*leŋeleŋe- <i>finger</i>	doŋoroŋo-	leŋeleŋi/n	
*Li(dt)(pv)a- <i>wife</i>	retp-	liva/n	
*mampum <i>before, in front</i>	mampum	mampum	
*[]-map <i>earth, land, ground</i>	nmap		yumup
*mar(u)-ŋi <i>leave</i>	maroŋi	maruŋi	malini <i>from</i>
*mas[i] <i>die</i>	mah	mis	
*mel <i>yellow</i>	mel/yar	mel/yeŋ	
*menug(u) <i>bird</i>	menug	menuku	
*meves <i>right (hand)</i>	meveh	meves	

Proto-Erromangan	Sie	Ura	Utaha
*momu <i>more</i>	momu	momu	
*mosi <i>star</i> ¹²	mosi	mosi	
*movag <i>outrigger boom</i> ¹³	movog	movā	
*mwor <i>left (hand)</i>	mwor	mor	
*[na]-dige- <i>under, underneath</i>	netŋo-	dige-	
*na-doreva(mn) <i>armlet</i>	natorevam	natorvan	
*na-fini- <i>forehead</i>	nafini-	nafuni/n	
*na-(gh)l(ei)- <i>egg</i>	nagle-	nahali/n	
*na-gut <i>louse</i> ¹⁴	nogut	wit	
*n-aiyai <i>sky</i>	neai	naiyai	
*na-la(iu) <i>canoe</i>	lou	nelai	at/nelo <i>his canoe</i>
*na-lan[i] <i>day, time</i>	dan	nelin	nelin
*na-(lL)(au)pwan <i>net</i>	naupwan	nalampon	
*na-lat <i>meat</i> ¹⁵	nelat	nalat	
*na-lau <i>child</i>	nalau	nalau	
*na-li-[] <i>dog</i> ¹⁶	nali/noh	nali/nowe	
*na-lo(u) <i>kingdom</i>	lou	nelo	nelo
*na-luam- <i>tongue</i>	neluam-	naluam/en	
*na-mas <i>cloth(es)</i>	nmah	namas	
*na-m(au)(ŋ)kam <i>sun</i>	nomukam	maŋkam	nimnim oŋkum
*na-m(p)(a)gasi <i>pig</i>	nompgahi	mwagas, nimgas	
*na-ri <i>feast (n)</i> ¹⁷	nari/ŋari	nari	
*na-rvin <i>sand</i>	narvin	narvin	
*n-au <i>knife</i>	nau	le/nau, nau-ituŋa	
*na-via- <i>voice</i>	navia-	navia/n	
*na-viat <i>spirit, soul</i>	naviat	naviat	
*na-vlaivi- <i>tail</i>	novlaivi-	navlaivi/n	
*na-vra- <i>mouth</i>	navra-	navra/ŋ	
*na-(w)a- <i>neck</i>	nowa-	na/n	
*na-zam(p)lauan <i>garment</i>	semplauon	namlauan	
*na-zau <i>spear (n)</i>	sau	nau	iso
*ne-devode <i>goods, possessions</i>	netevote	netevote	
*ne-dukus <i>salt</i>	netukus	netukus	

Proto- <u>Erromangan</u>	<u>Sie</u>	<u>Ura</u>	<u>Utaha</u>
*ne-herop <i>ripe coconut</i>	neherop	neherop	
*n-ei <i>tree</i>	nei	nii	
*ne-ki <i>coconut</i>	noki	nei	
*ne-liman <i>outrigger float</i> ¹³	nelman	neliman <i>outrigger</i>	
*ne-lve- <i>tooth</i>	nelve-	nelve/n	
*ne-m(p)ŋen <i>time</i>	nempŋon	nemŋen	
*ne-segar <i>feast (n)</i>	nesegar		nesekar
*n(ei)t- <i>son, child</i>	nit-	ner-	
*ne-tema <i>person, man</i>	neteme	erema	
*ne-vaŋ <i>food</i>	nvaŋ	neveŋ	nevoŋ
*ne-velogo- <i>wing</i>	nevlogo-	nevelogo/n	
*n-evi <i>year</i>	nevi		nevi
*n-i- <i>name</i>	ni		ni/n
*n-ima <i>house</i>	nimo	nima	
*ni-maL <i>breadfruit</i>	nmar	nimal	
*ni-mt- <i>eye</i> ¹⁸	nimt-		
*ni-pmi <i>his eye</i>	nipmi	nihimi	
*ni-van <i>flesh</i>	fan	nivan	
*ni-vat <i>stone</i>	nvat	nivat	
*no-gol(ei)s-da- <i>skin</i> ¹⁹	nogolista-	nogolesida/n	
*no-(gk)oloŋ- <i>lip</i>	nogoloŋ-	nokoloŋ/un	
*no-m <i>fire</i>	nom	nuŋo-nom-ra-dena <i>smoke</i>	
*no-mpu- <i>head</i>	nompu-	nompu/n	
*no-mpu-na-ran <i>friend</i>	nompunaran	nompunaran	
*no-mpu-ne-tru- <i>knee</i>	nompu-netru-	nohumunetre/n	
*no-mpu(w)a <i>mountain</i>	nompuwo	nompua	
*no-mu <i>fish</i>	nomu	nomu	umu
*n-(ou)ŋo-no-m <i>smoke</i>	noŋo-nom	nuŋo-nom-ra-dena	
*no-pwau <i>cloud</i>	nompwau	nobuau	
*no-riŋompunu <i>grief</i>	norŋompunu	norŋompunu	
*n-o(u) <i>foot, leg</i>	no-	nou- (or now-)	
*no-vi(lr)i- <i>a sore</i>	novli-	noviri	
*no-vli-no-mpu- <i>hair on head</i>	novlompu-	novlinompu/n	
*no-vli-ra- <i>body hair</i>	novlira-	novlira/n	

Proto-Erromangan	Sie	Ura	Utaha
*no-vloŋ- <i>beard</i>	novloŋ-	novloŋ/un	
*no-voŋ(ou)n <i>flower</i>	novoŋon	nəvŋun	
*no-watni- <i>root</i>	nowatni-	nowahani/n	
*no-w(i)ra- <i>bone</i>	noura-	nowira/n	
*n-u <i>water</i>	nu	ne	uyu
*n-ul-imt- <i>tears</i> ²⁰	nulimt-	nelihimi	
*n-up <i>yam</i>	nup	nup	
*nusian <i>large</i>	nusian	nusian	
*nu-val <i>fat</i> (n)	nuval	nuval	
*o <i>yes</i>	o	o	
*o-bu <i>do, make</i>	ompi	obu	ompu
*o-gol-i <i>dig</i>	ogol, ogli	ogoli	
*o-gs-i <i>see</i>	oghi	ogsi	
*o-hmwol <i>fall</i>	omwol	ohomol	
*o-mpumetuo <i>old, of persons</i>	ompumetuo	n-ompumetuo <i>old man</i>	
*o-mpurag <i>work</i>	ompurag-ŋi	ompurak	
*opwelevi <i>whale</i>	ompwelvi	əbelefi	
*or-a-su(w)a <i>a paddle</i>	or-ahuwo	or-asua	
*o-vk-i-sep <i>put down</i>	ovki-sep	ovki-sep	
*o-vLeh-ŋi <i>call</i>	ovroŋi	ovleheŋi	
*o-voh-ŋi <i>give</i>	ovoŋi	ovohŋi	oviŋi
*o-vos-i <i>blow with mouth</i>	ovosi	ovosi	
*:(ou)-vovu <i>play</i>	uvovu	ovovu	
*pwa[(lL)a]gas[i] <i>midday</i>	pwagahpwagah	bolagis	
*pwalap <i>evening</i>	pwarap	baluwalip	
*ra no(pv)um <i>first</i>	ra novum	ra nopum	
*V-sap-i <i>count</i>	ehapi	ispi	
*sar-i <i>attach oneself</i>	sari	sari	
*saved-i <i>push</i>	saveti	saveti	
*siman-lo(u) <i>men's house</i>	simanlo	simanlou	
*s(iu)kat <i>many</i>	sikat	suat	
*soŋu <i>kiss</i>	soŋu	soŋu	
*tab(ae)lzag <i>have in abundance</i>	tampalsag	tabeliak	

Proto- <u>Erromangan</u>	<u>Sie</u>	<u>Ura</u>	<u>Utaha</u>
*tai <i>hit, kill</i>	tai	tai, otai	
*ta(mv)ol-i <i>send</i>	tamoli	tavoli	
*tams-i <i>to answer</i>	tamsi	tamsi	
*taru <i>think, wish</i>	taru	taru	taru
*tavleh-ŋi <i>split</i>	tavloŋi	tavleheŋi	
*[]-t(eu)moneŋ <i>chief</i>	natemonog	yarumne	yatumu
*[]-tman <i>man=male</i>	natman	narmon, yarmon	
*[]-t-mas[i] <i>spirit, ghost</i> ²¹	natmas	yaremis	
*tompōr <i>sacred, holy</i>	tompōr	tompōr	
*[]-tua <i>fowl</i>	netuo	urua	
*u-lakis <i>rat</i>	ulakis	lakis	
*u-laŋ <i>a fly</i>	ulaŋ	uleŋ	
*u-mek[] <i>worm, snake</i>	umk/eya	umek	
*u-midar <i>rainbow</i>	umitar	umitar	
*ur <i>bad</i>	ur	avowat-ur	
*urek(r)is <i>small</i>	urekis	urkris	
*u-rva <i>river</i>	urva	urva	
*u-vnomu- <i>finger nail</i>	uvnomu	uhunomu/n	
*u-yom(ou)ŋ <i>mosquito</i>	uyomug	yomog	
*[uy,wi]o(u) <i>grandmother</i>	wiou	uyo	
*V-va <i>go</i>	ve	iva	
*vai-ŋi <i>clothe</i>	vaioŋi	vaiiŋi	
*vau <i>new</i>	vau	vau	
*vedmis <i>sky</i>	vetmis ~ vetmih	vetmis	
*ve[]m <i>come</i>	velam	venim	
*V-v(i)ehn-i <i>finish, be finished</i>	aveni	iviehinie	
*vin- <i>man's sister</i>	vin-	vin	
*[]-vu <i>turtle</i>	navu ~ nahvu	yavu	
*yaŋ <i>yellow</i>	vol/yaŋ	mel/yeŋ, un/iaŋ	
*yau(u)ŋa <i>elbow</i>	yauŋa	yauuŋa	
*yev-i <i>pull</i>	yevi	yevi	
*yobut <i>navel</i>	yomput	yobut	
*zat <i>bad</i>	sat	at	rat (?)
*zeki <i>climb (up)</i>	soki	eki	
*zimzimpar-i <i>keep, save, protect</i>	semsempari <i>shield, protector</i>	abare	simsimpari

5. ENGLISH INDEX OF RECONSTRUCTIONS

This index contains reconstructed forms from both the grammatical and lexical sections (sections 3 and 4 above).

English - Proto-Erromangan

adjective pluraliser	*ovn-	call	*o-vLeh-ŋi, *a-sor
after	*behnuri	canoe	*na-la(iu)
alive	*a-m(ou)r(eo)p	causative preposition	*ra, *(ia)ra-
and	*m, *im	chief	*[]-t(eu)moneg
angry	*a-ragai	child	*na-lau, *n(ei)t-
answer	*tams-i	climb	*zeki
approach	*b(ou)tb(ou)t	cloth(es)	*na-mas
armlet	*na-doreva(mn)	clothe	*vai-ŋi
article	*n, (*na-, *nV-), *u-	cloud	*no-pwau
ashes	*bentop	coconut	*ne-ki, *ne-herop
attach self	*sar-i	come	*ve[]m
awake(n)	*e-l(ae)mpa	comitative preposition	*l(iu), *[]al
back	*da-	conditional	*pe-, *naŋk(ou)
bad	*zat, *ur	count	*V-sap-i
be	*e-da	cut	*a-Lv-i
beard	*no-vlog-	dance	*e-mpgo
because	*popowo	dative preposition	*bohŋi
before	*mampum	day	*na-lan[i]
begin	*a-ti-botni	die	*mas[i]
benefactive preposition	*nisge-	dig	*o-gol-i
big	*dahmas, *horog	divide	*e-tevap-[i,ŋi]
bird	*menug(u)	do	*o-bu
black	*a-gum	dog	*na-li-[]
blow	*o-vos-i	downwards	*-sep
blunt	*a-i	dream	*i-mep[]
bone	*no-w(i)ra-	drink	*a-mwon(k)-i
breadfruit	*ni-maL	dwelt	*e-da
break	*a-rek	ear	*delŋe-
bright	*ilaswi	earth	*[]-map
brother	*av...-sa[ka]i	eat	*[k]en-i
bush	*domp[ur]wai	echo-subject	*m-
but	*ko(u)		

egg *na-(gh)l(ei)-
 elbow *yau(u)ŋa
 evening *pwaLap
 eye *ni-mt-, *ni-pmi
 fall *o-hmwol
 far *isut, *isut ra
 far past *m-em-
 fat (n) *lat, *nu-val
 father *e-tim-
 fear *a-medet
 feast *na-ri, *ne-segar
 feel *davidavi
 fight *a-vogat
 finger *legeleŋe-
 fingernail *u-vnomu-
 finish(ed) *V-v(i)ehn-i
 fire *no-m
 first *ra no(pv)um
 fish *no-mu
 five *sukr(ei)m
 flesh *ni-van
 float (v) *a-Lgai-zag
 flower *no-voŋ(ou)n
 fly (n) *u-laŋ
 fly (v) *a-[re]gep
 food *ne-vaŋ
 foot *n-o(u)
 forehead *na-fini-
 foreign *iduŋa
 forgive *efi-e-len(t)-ŋi
 four *-vat
 fowl *[]-tua
 friend *no-mpu-na-ran
 future *ø-
 garment *na-zam(p)lauan
 general past *ø-
 give *o-voh-ŋi

go *V-va
 go down *a-yip
 good *a-rmai
 goods *ne-devode
 grandfather *itais
 grandmother *[uy,wi]o(u)
 grief *no-riŋompunu
 grope *davidavi
 ground *[]-map
 hair (body) *no-vli-ra-
 hair (head) *no-vli-no-mpu-
 hard *lama
 have in abundance *tab(ae)lzag
 he/she/it *iyi, *g-, *y-
 head *no-mpu-
 hear *a-Lŋ-i
 heart *batmonu(gk)
 him/her/it *-i, *-ø
 his/her/its *-n, *-(y)i
 hit *tai
 holy *tompōr
 hot *a-(uw)au
 house *n-ima
 how many? *-ive
 hungry *a-t(eo)m(au)s
 husband *a[sa]w(io)-
 I *yau, *yaŋ-, *yau-
 identificatory prefix *(ai)t(u)-
 in front *mampum
 instrumental preposition *ŋi
 intensive enclitics *-wi, *-ves,
 keep *zimzimpar-i *-sat
 kill *tai, *(dt)ahl-ŋi
 kingdom *na-lo(u)
 kiss *soŋu
 knee *no-mpu-ne-tru-
 knife *n-au

<i>land</i> (n) *[]-map	<i>no, not</i> *eyi, *da[va](uw)i
<i>large</i> *nusian	nominalisers *n-, *wor-
<i>lead</i> (v) *(dt)or-[i,ŋi]	non-past *n-, nasalisation
<i>leave</i> *mar(u)-ŋi	noun pluralisers *ovn-, *L-, *-zu
<i>left</i> (hand) *mwor	<i>now</i> *marima
<i>leg</i> *n-o(u)	<i>old</i> *a-lam, *o-mpumetuo
<i>lie down</i> *a-hlei	<i>one</i> *sa[ka]i
<i>lightning</i> *dorpis	<i>only</i> *gan
<i>lip</i> *no-(gk)oloŋ-	<i>or</i> *ku
<i>live</i> *a-m(ou)r(eo)p, *e-da	<i>order</i> *e-basewo-ŋi
locative preposition *ra, *(ia)ra-	<i>our</i> exc. *-gam[i], *- []am
<i>long ago</i> *(ai)d(ei)tuai	<i>our</i> inc. *-gas[i]
<i>louse</i> *na-gut	<i>outrigger</i> *movag, *ne-liman
<i>make</i> *o-bu	<i>paddle</i> (n) *or-a-su(w)a
<i>make effort</i> *a-tek-i	<i>paddle</i> (v) *a-su(w)a
<i>man, male</i> *[]-tman	<i>peace</i> *daziazye
<i>man=person</i> *ne-te-ma	perfective *-zu
<i>many</i> *dahmas, *s(iu)kat	<i>person</i> *ne-te-ma
<i>me</i> *-yau	<i>pig</i> *na-m(p)(a)gasi
<i>meat</i> *na-lat	<i>play</i> *(ou)-vovu
<i>men's house</i> *siman-lo(u)	plural (verb) * -
<i>mid past</i> *m-	<i>possessions</i> *ne-devode
<i>midday</i> *pwa[(l)a]gas[i]	<i>power(ful)</i> *horon
<i>moon</i> *idaïs	<i>present</i> *am-
<i>more</i> *momu	<i>previous reference</i> *mori
<i>mosquito</i> *u-yom(ou)g	<i>protect</i> *zimzimpar-i
<i>mother</i> *[]in(m)-	<i>pull</i> *yev-i
<i>mountain</i> *no-mpu-(w)a	<i>purpose</i> *m(ao) so(ŋ)ku
<i>mouth</i> *na-vra-	<i>push</i> *saved-i
<i>my</i> *-ŋ, *-yau	<i>put down</i> *o-vk-i-sep
<i>name</i> *n-i-	question-tag *ku
<i>navel</i> *yobut	quotative *o-g(ou)
<i>near</i> *b(ou)tb(ou)t (ra)	<i>rain</i> (v) *e-vip
<i>neck</i> *na-(w)a-	<i>rainbow</i> *u-midar
<i>negative</i> *edu-	<i>rat</i> *u-lakis
<i>net</i> *na-(l)(a)upwan	<i>rejoice</i> *a-vos
<i>new</i> *vau	relative pronoun *mori

right (hand) *meves
river *u-rva
root *no-watni-
sacred *tompōr
salt *ne-dukus
sand *na-rvin
save *zimzimpar-i
scatter *a-sivie-ŋi
scratch *a-le-i
sea *deg
see *o-gs-i
send *ta(mv)ol-i
serve *-dor(ou)ŋ[]
sew *a-tL-i
shadow *da[ya]li
shark *[]-b(eo)u
short *b(ou)tb(ou)t
similative preposition *so(ŋ)ku
sing *a-rufa
sister (man) *vin-
sit *a-ta[se]p
six *m(ei)sikai
skin *da-, *no-gol(ei)s-da-
sky *bog(ou)p, *n-aiyai, *vedmis
sleep *a-hlei-ba
small *urek(r)is
smell (intr) *ibin
smoke *n-(ou)ŋo-no-m
snake *u-mek[]
son *n(ei)t-
sore (n) *no-vi(lr)i-
speak *a-m
spear (n) *na-zau
spirit *[]-t-mas[i], *na-viat
spit *a-tvani
split *tavleh-ŋi
stab *a-tL-i

stand *e-(dt)ur
star *mosi
stay *e-(dt)ur
stone *ni-vat
straight *a-ŋka
strong *lama
stump *botni
sun *na-m(au)(ŋ)kam
swim *a-Lu(s)
tail *na-vlaivi-
taro *dal
taste *a-tŋap
tears *n-ul-imt-
tempt(ation) *dapmi
ten *na-Lu(o)(lr)em
test *dapmi
their *-iL(eo)L
them *- (oi)L
there *(eo)mpe, *yuwi
they *iL(eo)L
think *taru
this *imo
three *-hel(i)
throw *(dt)ava-ŋi
tight *lama
time *ne-m(p)ŋen, *na-lan[i]
today *i-era
tongue *na-luam-
tooth *ne-lve-
transitive *-i, *-ŋi
tree *n-ei
turn *a-vohl-i
turtle *[]-vu
two *-Lu
under *ra [na-]dige-
underneath *[na-]dige-
us exc. *-(gŋ)am[i]

us inc. *-(gg)as[i]
verb-marker *a-
voice *na-via-
vomit *a-lua
want *a-gay-ŋi
warm *a-(uw)au
wash self *a-Lu(s)
waste (v) *a-sivie-ŋi
water *n-u
we exc. *gam[i], *kak-
we inc. *gas[i], *k(ou)-
whale *opwelevi
when? *-iŋei
white *a-suva

wife *Li(dt)(pv)a-
wing *ne-velogo-
wish (v) *taru
work (v) *o-mpurag
worm *u-mek[]
yam *n-up
year *n-evi
yellow *mel, *yan
yes *o
yesterday *[at]ninu
you pl. *gimi, *ki-, *-(gg)(iu)mi
you sg. *g[], *k-, *-g(a)
your pl. *-gimi
your sg. *-m, *-g[]

NOTES

- ¹ Of the languages of Southern Vanuatu, we have available a considerable amount of grammatical and lexical information for Sie, Lenakel, South-west Tanna, Kwamera, and Anejom. The reconstruction of Proto-Southern Vanuatu on the basis of these data should allow a considerable number of additions to be made to what has been reconstructed here for Proto-Eromangan, using comparisons between Sie and other Southern Vanuatu languages.
- ² Ura g-, Utaha k- would derive from *g-, whereas Sie d- would derive from *l-. Note also the remarks on changes in the Ura numeral system in section 2.4. of chapter 4 above.
- ³ The prefixes d- and g- are the same as those discussed earlier in relation to the numerals.
- ⁴ This form may well be a nominalisation of the irrealis (nasalised) form of the quotative verb *o-g(ou) discussed immediately above; if so, it is morphologically *n-a-ŋk(ou).
- ⁵ I have found no Ura cognates of the Sie or- > ad- alternation.
- ⁶ This form consists of a root *av-, to which possessive pronominal suffixes are attached, followed by a form *-sa[ka]i one.
- ⁷ It is probable that the Ura form is in fact the nasalised irrealis form; the oral or base form would be ovohol.

- ⁸ Cf. also (37) above in section 3.
- ⁹ This form may contain a causative prefix *efi-; cf. section 2.1.7. of chapter 2.
- ¹⁰ The similarity in form between *idais *moon* and *itais *grandfather* suggests that these may possibly be one and the same form, and that the Ura itais *moon* may be a loan from Sie.
- ¹¹ This form (a) may contain the verb-marker *i- and (b) may contain the intensive suffix *-wi. Thus the form may be *i-las-wi or *i-laswi or *ilas-wi.
- ¹² Ura also has a form umse, cognate with Utaha umse, which may derive from *u-mosi.
- ¹³ In reconstructing the semantics of both *movag *outrigger-boom* and also *ne-liman *outrigger-float* I treat the Sie glosses as diagnostic. Ura mova is glossed *outrigger-float* and neliman simply as *outrigger*.
- ¹⁴ Ura shows unexplained loss of *g and subsequent breaking of *u as wi.
- ¹⁵ Cf. also *lat *fat* (n).
- ¹⁶ These forms contain as the final element the non-cognate morphemes Sie noh, Ura nowe *rope*.
- ¹⁷ The reconstruction may well be *qari: initial /q/ is rare in both Sie and Ura, with the instrumental preposition qi being about the only q-initial morpheme in either language. The apparently reduplicated Sie form suggests the possibility that *q may be reflected initially as n.
- ¹⁸ The irregular third person singular possessed form *ni-pmi can be reconstructed on both Sie and Ura evidence. It is assumed that the root form is *ni-mt-, on the basis of both the Sie form and the behaviour of /t/ in this kind of environment in Ura.
- ¹⁹ This form includes the morpheme *da- *skin* (q.v.).
- ²⁰ This form is probably a compound of *n-u *water* and *ni-mt- *eye*; the intrusive *l is unexplainable.
- ²¹ This form includes the morpheme *mas[i] *die*.

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